

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

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No. 1

WITH the present issue the publication of the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library" is resumed after a somewhat lengthened period of suspension. Appearing first in 1903 it was continued by annual issues until 1908, when by reason of the exigencies of other work it was found necessary to suspend publication until the pressure of the more urgent claims of the library had been relieved.

Such however has been the experience of the intervening years that any hope of relief which we may have entertained has been completely dispelled, yet in consequence of the repeated inquiries for the "Bulletin," which have revealed the need for some such medium of communication between the library and those who are interested in its welfare, it has been decided to resume the publication without further delay.

It will be noticed that the format has been changed, from the quarto of the original volume to the handier octavo size of the present issue, whilst changes in the arrangement of the contents have been decided upon, with the object of increasing its usefulness.

It may not be out of place to remind readers that the primary purpose of the "Bulletin" is to make clear to students in Manchester and elsewhere the possibilities of usefulness which such a library offers. This will be effected through the medium of lists of the most important additions to the shelves, of aids to readers in the form of select bibliographies, or reading lists of the character of the one prepared by Professor Peake, which appears in the present issue; of bibliographical notes upon any specially noteworthy addition, such as the "Odes of Solomon"; of occasional articles on the special collections and outstanding books and documents in which the library is so rich; and by any other means calculated to make its resources better known.

That such a publication will materially increase the general interest in the library, and not only promote the use of books that would otherwise be neglected, but directly tend to the advancement of knowledge, cannot be doubted.

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

In reviewing the work of the library during the interval which has elapsed since the publication of the last issue of the *Bulletin*, it may not be out of place in the first instance POLICY OF THE LIBRARY. to recall the considerations which have led to the present policy of the administration of the library.

Throughout the fourteen years of the library's existence, it has been recognized that while it is the primary duty of the authorities carefully to preserve the books and manuscripts entrusted to their care, yet the real importance of such collections rests not upon the number or the rarity of the works of which the collections are composed, but upon the use to which they are put.

It was inevitable that the possession of so great an inheritance of literary treasures should cause the library to become a place of pilgrimage for those who have given themselves to the service of learning, as well as for the lover of rare books. But from the first it has been the intention of the Governors to make it at the same time an excellent working library for students, whether in the department of theology, philosophy, history, philology, belles-lettres, the fine arts, or bibliography, and with this end in view they have consistently strengthened the collections in directions likely to be fruitful of good results, so that students and scholars of riper experience alike should be attracted, not merely by the library's treasures, but also by the facilities which it offers for study and research.

Needless to say there are still many lacunæ upon the shelves of the library, although every effort is being employed to reduce their number. This, however, is not surprising when the comparatively recent date of the foundation is recalled.

In this work of development, very material assistance has been rendered by readers, whose suggestions, which are invited and welcomed, receive careful and sympathetic consideration, with the result that during the fourteen years that have elapsed since the library

opened its doors, something like 120,000 volumes have been added to the shelves, including seven thousand manuscripts and many other works either of extreme rarity or of historical importance.

There is cause for great satisfaction in the fact that one of the outstanding features of the use made of the library during the period under review is the large and increasing amount of original research which has been conducted by students, not only from our own universities, but also by scholars from other countries.

Every encouragement is given to such workers, with the result that of late, such has been the increase in their number that the seating capacity of the library has been taxed at times to the point of congestion, and the need, if the present standard of service is to be maintained, for more adequate accommodation, has become increasingly apparent.

With a view not only of providing for this necessary extension of the present buildings, but also of creating for the buildings an island site, in order to minimize, as far as possible, the risk of fire which the close proximity of the buildings at the rear threatened, the Governors, for several years past, have been acquiring land at the rear of, and immediately adjoining, the library.

After careful consideration of the most pressing needs, the architect of the original building was asked to prepare sketch plans for an extension which was to harmonize with the existing structure, and to be in communication with it, in which provision should be made for an additional reading room, a manuscript room, a series of rooms for administrative work, common rooms for the staff, and stack rooms for book storage.

The original building, though admirable from the architectural point of view, and possessing many other excellent qualities, does not fully meet the requirements of a modern research library. Therefore, in deciding upon the character and arrangement of the new portion, reliance has been placed upon the actual experience of the past years —years which have furnished many object lessons—with the result that every part of the extension has been designed to meet some particular need.

The sketch plans having been prepared in such a way as to allow the work to be executed in two sections, the plans for the first section were elaborated, in which provision is made for the administrative

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OF THE
LIBRARY.

BUILDING
EXTENSION.

requirements of the library. These include : receiving and accession room ; secretarial room ; binding room where the preparation of work for the binder and the checking of such work upon its return may be carried out under proper conditions, also where repairs to manuscripts and rare books may be executed under careful supervision ; publications room for the storage of the library's printed catalogues and other publications ; cataloguing room, in which the principal part of the cataloguing staff may be concentrated, and where they will be surrounded by their most necessary tools ; senior and junior common rooms for the staff ; a workroom for the librarian ; and a number of stack rooms for book storage.

Building operations were commenced in the early part of last year, and it is expected that the first section of the extension will be ready for occupation towards the end of 1915.

The final portion will consist of a stack building to provide shelf accommodation for half a million volumes, surmounted by a reading room and a manuscript room, which will be reserved for special research, the aim being to provide every reasonable facility for such work, including freedom from the distractions which are unavoidable in the more public rooms of the library.

The accommodation which will be provided under this scheme is calculated to meet the requirements of the library, at the normal rate of growth, until the end of the present century.

A photographic studio with a complete equipment of apparatus has been installed in the library, and placed in charge of a thoroughly qualified assistant. By this means it has been possible to render valuable assistance to scholars both at home and abroad by furnishing them with photographed facsimiles of pages from any of our rarer printed books and manuscripts. Again and again, in the case of requests for transcripts and collations of passages from some important text, it has been found possible, at very small cost to the library, to provide rotograph photographs of the passages, which were at once more trustworthy and more acceptable than the best handmade transcript could possibly be. This new department is fraught with possibilities of world-wide benefit.

Public interest in the library has been fostered in a variety of ways, with most encouraging results. Each session, since the year 1900, a series of public lectures has been arranged,

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STUDIO.

PUBLIC
LECTURES.

including the names of scholars of the highest eminence, who gladly contribute lectures upon the subjects of which they are the acknowledged authorities. On these occasions the lecture room is invariably filled to overflowing, whilst at times hundreds of people have been unable to gain admission.

The following syllabus of lectures arranged for the ensuing session will give some idea of the character of this part of the library's work :—

EVENING LECTURES (7.30 p.m.).

Wednesday, 14th October, 1914. "How to Study the New Testament." By Arthur S. Peake, M.A., D.D., Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the Victoria University of Manchester. (A brief reading list will be printed for circulation at this lecture.)

Wednesday, 11th November, 1914. "Babylonian Law and the Mosaic Code." By Canon C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Litt.D., Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.

Wednesday, 9th December, 1914. "The Youth of Vergil." By R. Seymour Conway, M.A., Litt.D., Professor of Latin and Indo-European Philology in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 20th January, 1915. "A Mediæval Burglary." By Thomas F. Tout, M.A., F.B.A., Bishop Fraser Professor of Mediæval and Ecclesiastical History in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th February, 1915. "Words and their Story." By James Hope Moulton, M.A., D.Litt., D.D., D.C.L., D.Theol., etc., Greenwood Professor of Hellenistic Greek in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th March, 1915. "Ancient Egypt and the Dawn of Civilization." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By G. Elliot Smith, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 28th April, 1915. "World Literature : the New Departure in the Study of Literature." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

Friday, 30th April, 1915. "World Literature : the Five World Bibles." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D.

AFTERNOON LECTURES (3 p.m.).

Tuesday, 17th November, 1914. "Theban Tombs." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By Alan H. Gardiner, M.A., D.Litt., Formerly Lecturer in Egyptology in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Tuesday, 5th January, 1915. "The Origin of the Cult of Dionysos." By James Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D., etc., Director of Studies at the Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham.

The object of these lectures is to stimulate interest in the library, and each lecture is made the occasion for reminding the audience of this fact, by directing attention to the available sources of information upon the subject dealt with. The value of the lecture is often enhanced by the distribution of a printed synopsis, or a printed list of the principal authorities upon the subject, which are to be found in the library.

Another department of work which has met with encouraging success is represented by the bibliographical and other DEMONSTRATIONS TO STUDENTS. demonstrations for students, which are arranged from time to time for organized parties of students from the training colleges, technical, secondary, and other schools in Manchester and the neighbouring towns.

As a rule, the demonstration deals with the author or subject, sometimes a period of history or of literature, which has been the theme of class study during the term. Such topics as "The Beginnings of Literature," "The Beginnings of Printing," "The Middle Ages," "The Revival of Learning," "Caxton," "Aldus," "Chaucer," "Shakespeare," "Dante," and "Milton," have each in turn been dealt with in this manner.

Experience has taught us that nothing will help a student to appreciate the reality underlying the great names of literature or history like a personal introduction to the original documentary sources, the autograph material, the original editions of their works, and to the most authoritative works bearing upon the subject. In this way a sense of personal acquaintance with the writers, or a vivid impression of the subject is obtained, which not only deepens their interest in that particular subject but stimulates an interest in the many valuable collections which the library contains, and lays the foundation for future study.

By means of exhibitions, which are arranged in a series of glass cases in the Main Library, the public are given the opportunity of inspecting some of the principal treasures of the library. In this way the "History of the English Bible," the "History of Printing," the "Manuscripts of the Middle Ages," the "Original Editions of the Earliest English Classics," and other subjects have been illustrated to the evident enjoyment of a large number of visitors, including organized parties from the elementary and secondary schools, and with the gratifying result that in a number of cases which have been brought to our knowledge, the interest of the casual visitor has ripened into a desire to become a regular reader.

EXHIBI-
TIONS.

It is customary to issue in connexion with each exhibition a descriptive catalogue or handbook, illustrated with facsimiles, and containing lists of works for the study of the subject dealt with, which are at the service of readers in the library. Particulars of the most recent of these catalogues will be found amongst notes dealing with publications.

In the accompanying list of donors to the library during 1913-14 we have unmistakable evidence of the constantly increasing practical interest in the library and its work. In the name of the Governors we take this opportunity of renewing the thanks already expressed in another form to the donors for their generous gifts, and of assuring them that these generous expressions of interest and goodwill are a most welcome source of encouragement.

GIFTS TO
THE LIBRARY.

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	G. Parker Winship, Esq.
	T. J. Wise, Esq.

Aberdeen University Library.

Aberystwyth. National Library of Wales.

Auckland Public Library.

Bankipur. Oriental Public Library.

Barcelona. Biblioteca de Catalunya.

Berlin. Kommission für der Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke.

Berlin. Königliche Bibliothek.

Bonn. Königl. Universitäts-Bibliothek.

Boston Public Library, Mass.
Bristol Public Library.
British and Foreign Bible Society.
Bryn Mawr College, Pa.
California University Library.
Cambridge. St. John's College Library.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
Carnegie Foundation.
Chicago University Library.
Chicago. John Crerar Library.
Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.
Copenhagen. Det Store Kongelige Bibliothek.
Cornell University Library.
Downside Abbey Library, Bath.
Dublin. National Library of Ireland.
Dublin. Marsh's Library.
Durham University Library.
Egypt Exploration Fund.
Gand. Bibliothèque de l'Université.
Glasgow University Library.
Groningen. Rijks-Universiteitbibliothèk.
Halifax. Bankfield Museum.
Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches
Leyden. Bibliothek der Rijks-Universiteit.
Lisbon. Academia das Sciencias.
London. British Museum.
London. Guildhall Library.
London. Jews' College.
London. Middle Temple Library.
London. Patent Office Library.
London. Victoria and Albert Museum.
Manchester. Chetham Hospital and Library.
Manchester. Egyptian and Oriental Society.
Manchester. School of Technology.
Manchester. Victoria University.
Michigan University Library.
New York Public Library.
New York. Columbia University Library.

The Order of the Cross, Paignton.
 Pennsylvania Public Library.
 Petrograd. Imperial University Library.
 Princeton Seminary.
 Saint Andrews University Library.
 Saint Anselm's Society.
 Sheffield. Hunter Archaeological Society.
 Société Asiatique.
 South Australia Public Library.
 Stockholm. Kongelige Bibliotheket.
 Strassburg. Kaiserl. Universitäts- und Landes-Bibliothek.
 Sydney Free Public Library.
 Toronto Provincial Museum.
 Toronto Public Library.
 Tübingen. Universitäts-Bibliothek.
 Uppsala. Universitets-Bibliothek.
 Utrecht. Rijks Universitäts-Bibliothek.
 Vienna. K.K. Univ. Bibliothek.
 Warrington Literary and Philosophical Society.
 Washington. Congressional Library.
 Washington. Smithsonian Institution.
 Washington. Surgeon-General's Office Library.
 Washington University Library, St. Louis, Mo.
 Worcester, Mass. Clark University Library.
 Yale University Library.

Since the publication of the last issue of the "Bulletin" a number of interesting catalogues and other publications have made their appearance. The most important is the "CATALOGUE OF THE DEMOTIC PAPYRI IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY. With facsimiles and complete translations. By F. L. GRIFFITH, M.A." 3 vols. 4to. (Price 3 guineas.)

This was published in 1909, after about ten years of persistent work on the part of Mr. Griffith. It is something more than a catalogue, since it includes collotype facsimiles of the whole of the documents, with transliterations, translations, valuable introductions, very full notes, and a glossary of Demotic, representing, in the estimation of scholars, the most important contribution to the study of Demotic hitherto published.

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This was followed in the same year by the "CATALOGUE OF THE COPTIC MANUSCRIPTS . . . By W. E. Crum, M.A." 1 vol. 4to. (Price 1 guinea.) In this also many of the texts are reproduced *in extenso*. The collection includes a series of private letters considerably older than any in Coptic hitherto known, in addition to many manuscripts of great theological and historical interest.

In 1911 appeared the first volume of the "CATALOGUE OF GREEK PAPYRI . . ." Volume 1. Literary texts (nos. 1-61); by Arthur S. Hunt, D.Litt. 4to. (Price 1 guinea.) The texts are reproduced *in extenso*, and comprise many interesting Biblical, liturgical, and classical papyri, ranging from the third century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. Included are probably the earliest known text of the "Nicene Creed," and one of the earliest known vellum codices, containing a considerable fragment of the "Odyssey," possibly of the third century A.D.

The series of reprints, which is to be known as "THE JOHN RYLANDS FACSIMILES," has been undertaken, with the object of rendering more readily accessible to students by THE JOHN RYLANDS FACSIMILES. means of faithful facsimile reproductions, some of the more interesting and important of the rarer books and prints which are in the possession of the library, and also of averting the disaster and loss to scholarship involved in the destruction by fire or otherwise of such unique and rare literary treasures when they have not been multiplied by some method of reproduction.

The volumes consist of minutely accurate facsimiles of the works selected, preceded by bibliographical introductions.

Three volumes have been issued, and are briefly described in the following paragraphs, whilst two others are in an advanced state of preparation.

1. PROPOSITIO JOHANNIS RUSSELL, printed by William Caxton, circa A.D. 1476. . . . With an introduction by Henry Guppy, M.A., 1909. 8vo, pp. 36, 8. 3s. 6d. net.

* * This "proposition" is an oration, pronounced by John Russell, Chancellor of England, on the investiture of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, with the Order of the Garter, in February, 1469, at Ghent. The tract consists of four printed leaves, without title-page,

printer's name, date, or place of printing. It is printed in the type which is known as Caxton's type "No. 2," but whether printed at Bruges or at Westminster has yet to be determined.

For many years the copy now in the John Rylands Library was considered to be unique. Indeed, until the year 1807 it lay buried and unnoticed in the heart of a volume of manuscripts, with which it had evidently been bound up by mistake. Since then, another copy has been discovered in the library at Holkam Hall, the seat of the Earl of Leicester.

2. A BOOKE IN ENGLYSH METRE, of the Great Marchaunt man called "Dives Pragmaticus". . . . 1563. . . . With an introduction by Percy E. Newbery, M.A.; and remarks on the vocabulary and dialect, with a glossary by Henry C. Wyld, M.A., 1910. 4to, pp. xxxviii, 16. 5s. net.

* * * The tract here reproduced is believed to be the sole surviving copy of a quaint little primer which had the laudable object of instructing the young in the names of trades, professions, ranks, and common objects of daily life in their own tongue. The lists are rhymed, and therefore easy to commit to memory, and they are pervaded by a certain vein of humour.

3. A LITIL BOKE the whiche traytied and reherced many gode thinges necessaries for the . . . Pestilence . . . made by the . . . Bisshop of Arusiens. . . . [London], [1485 ?]. . . . With an introduction by Guthrie Vine, M.A., 1910. 4to, pp. xxxvi, 18. 5s. net.

* * * Of this little tract, consisting of nine leaves, written by Benedict Kanuti, or Knutsson, Bishop of Västerås, three separate editions are known, but only one copy of each, and an odd leaf are known to have survived.

There is no indication in any edition of the place of printing, date, or name of printer, but they are all printed in one of the five types employed by William de Machlinia, who printed first in partnership with John Lettou, and afterwards alone, in the city of London, at the time when William Caxton was at the most active period of his career at Westminster.

CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION OF THE WORKS OF DANTE
ALIGHIERI [with list of a selection of works on the study
of Dante]. 1909. 8vo, pp. xii, 55. 6d. net.

The exhibition of which this is a descriptive catalogue was arranged, primarily, in connexion with the visit to the library of the members of the Manchester Dante Society, with the object of revealing to them the wealth of material which is here available for the study of Dante, and it may not be out of place to reproduce a few paragraphs from the preface, in which the scope and character of the collection are described.

The library contains five manuscripts and upwards of 6000 printed volumes and pamphlets relating to Dante. The nucleus of this collection, including the rarest and the most important of the early editions, formed part of the Althorp Library. These have been added to from time to time, by the purchase of other groups of copies, together with a considerable collection of the modern literature of the subject.

Of the five manuscripts the three most important are : (1) a copy of the "Canzoni" written in the latter part of the fourteenth century for Lorenzo degli Strozzi, which is ornamented with large initial letters and illuminated borders, containing portraits of Dante and of his inamorata ; (2) a copy of the "Divina Commedia" written in 1416, containing a number of variants from the common text, made by B. Landi de Landis, of Prato, of whom nothing is known ; (3) a sixteenth-century copy of the "Divina Commedia," with the "Credo" and other poems at the end, which at one time was in the possession of Cavaliere S. Kirkup.

The printed editions include the three earliest folios of the "Divina Commedia," printed in the same year (1472) at Foligno, Mantua, and Jesi respectively. The only serious gap in the collection is the fourth folio, undated, but which issued from the press of Francesco del Tuppo at Naples between the years 1473 and 1475. Of this edition not more than three or four copies are known to have survived, three of which are already locked up in national or public libraries. With this exception, the entire range of the early and principal critical editions of the text of Dante's great poem is represented. Of the first illustrated edition of the "Divina Commedia," which has also the distinction of being the only one printed in

Florence during the fifteenth century, one of the two copies in the possession of the library is believed to be the only copy containing twenty of the engravings, said to have been executed by Baccio Baldini.

CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION OF ORIGINAL EDITIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL WORKS OF JOHN MILTON, arranged in celebration of the tercentenary of his birth. 1908. 8vo, pp. 24. 6d. net.

CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION OF ORIGINAL EDITIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL ENGLISH CLASSICS [with list of works for the study of English literature]. 1910. 8vo, pp. xvi, 86. 6d. net.

CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION OF MANUSCRIPT AND PRINTED COPIES OF THE SCRIPTURES, illustrating the history of the transmission of the Bible, in commemoration of the Tercentenary of the "Authorised Version" of the English Bible, A.D. 1611-1911. 1911. 8vo, pp. xiv, 128, and 12 facsimiles. 6d. net.

This exhibition, as the title to the catalogue explains, was arranged to commemorate the Tercentenary of the publication of the "Authorised Version" of the English Bible of 1611.

The exhibits were so arranged as to illustrate the transmission of the Bible through the various stages of its eventful history from the original texts and early versions down to the Revised Version of 1881-98.

A brief sketch of the history of the transmission of the Bible, filling thirty-six pages, is prefixed to the catalogue, which is followed by a list giving particulars of a selection of works for the study of the original texts and principal versions of the Bible, which may be consulted in the library.

CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION OF MEDIÆVAL MANUSCRIPTS AND JEWELLED BOOK-COVERS [exhibited on the occasion of the visit of the Historical Association], including lists of palæographical works and of historical periodicals in the John Rylands Library. 1912. 8vo, pp. xiv, 134, and 10 facsimiles. 6d. net.

The visit to the library of the members of the Historical Association, on the occasion of the holding of their Fifth Annual Meeting in Manchester, was signalized by the arrangement of the exhibition of mediæval manuscripts described in the above catalogue.

Prefixed to the catalogue is a brief account of the library's manuscript possessions, followed by some notes explanatory of the character of the books of the Middle Ages, and of the distinguishing features which they possess, in the matter of writing, of illuminations, and also of the materials employed, with a view to assist those who may not be familiar with the subject, to a fuller appreciation of the interest and beauty of their workmanship. The illustrations add to the usefulness of the catalogue, by furnishing examples of the work of some of the most important schools of writing and illumination from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries.

Lest it should be inferred that the library is rich in such bibliographical and literary treasures as were exhibited and described, but wanting in the necessary appliances for study and research, it was thought advisable to include a list of the works for the study of palæography with which the library is equipped, and also a list of the periodical publications in history and the allied topics which are regularly taken for the periodical room.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE LIBRARY AND ITS
CONTENTS, WITH CATALOGUE OF A SELECTION OF
MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED BOOKS exhibited on the
occasion of the visit of the Congregational Union of Eng-
land and Wales, in October, 1912. 8vo, pp. xii, 144,
and 21 facsimiles. *Out of print.*

The object of this volume was to signalize the visit to the library of the members of the Executive of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, on the occasion of the holding of their Annual Meeting in this city. It was peculiarly appropriate that the Congregational Union should, during the course of the Manchester meeting, pay an official visit to the John Rylands Library, which owes its existence to the munificence of a lady, who up to the time of her death, was an honoured member of the Congregational Church, as was also her husband, whose name the library fittingly perpetuates.

A CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE OF THE WORKS ON ARCHITECTURE AND THE ALLIED ARTS IN THE PRINCIPAL LIBRARIES OF MANCHESTER AND SALFORD, with alphabetical author list and subject index. Edited for the Architectural Committee of Manchester by Henry Guppy and Guthrie Vine. 1909. 8vo, pp. xxv, 310. 3s. 6d. net, or interleaved 4s. 6d. net.

This publication, the first of its kind to be issued, with the exception of a few union lists of periodicals and incunabula, was the outcome of a suggestion made early in 1904 at a meeting of the Joint Architectural Committee, which is composed of representatives of the University of Manchester, of the Manchester Education Committee, and of the Manchester Society of Architects.

It was pointed out that scattered over the principal libraries of Manchester and Salford there existed a very fine and extensive collection of works on architecture, and the allied arts, in which architects, students of architecture, and art workers generally might find almost infinite resources of suggestion and inspiration for their work. Unfortunately, there was no means of determining what each library contained, or even where a particular work could be seen and consulted, otherwise than by a personal visit to the various institutions. As a natural consequence the usefulness of the collections was seriously impaired, and much valuable material was allowed to rest upon the shelves unopened, because nobody knew it was there for want of a proper catalogue.

The value of the suggestion that a combined, or union, catalogue of this literature should be issued was at once recognized, and steps were taken to carry it out. The co-operation of the various authorities was invited, and the librarians and committees of the different libraries entered very cordially into the spirit of the proposal, and readily undertook to prepare the necessary lists.

The general work of co-ordination and of editorship was entrusted to the librarian and sub-librarian of this library, who were also responsible for the scope of the undertaking as well as for the form and arrangement of the various details. This catalogue may be said to mark an epoch in the development of library administration and co-operation, and for that reason it may not be out of place, even

though several years have elapsed since its publication, to indicate in a few words the principles which we kept before us in determining the scope and arrangement of the volume.

Among the most distinctive features of the present generation is the growing sense of the great advantages springing in every direction from corporate action, coupled with a keener perception of the disadvantages that inevitably attend the failure to utilize such opportunities of combination as may present themselves. In every department of life the value of co-operation is being increasingly recognized as an essential element in the conduct of any undertaking in which one desires to attain the maximum of economy and efficiency. Libraries which are to a large extent the creation of this age, cannot afford to lag in this matter, and to neglect to avail themselves of so valuable a means of increasing and extending their sphere of usefulness. Yet, hitherto, little has been accomplished, or attempted in this direction. Libraries have been content to act independently of one another. If a reader unable to find a book in the library where he is working has wished to know whether it could be found in a neighbouring one, too commonly, his only chance of ascertaining the fact has been by means of a personal, and, perhaps, fruitless, visit to the library in question. The loss of time thus entailed on students must, in the aggregate, be very considerable, and any method by which an economy can be effected in this particular should be accepted, and welcomed as one of the necessary phases of library development.

It was possible to construct this catalogue in two entirely different ways. One method would have been the formation of an alphabetical list of authors, with a subject index to the same. The other course open was to arrange the entries in a logical or classified order, and then to supply alphabetical lists of the authors, and of the subjects, which were treated in the several works.

The former plan, whilst eminently suitable for the catalogue of a large library embracing treatises on a variety of subjects, is less appropriate in the case of a single section of literature than the classified catalogue. The latter preserves the unity of the subject, and by so doing enables a student to follow its various ramifications with ease and certainty.

In the classified catalogue related matter is brought together—juxtaposition is intentional, not accidental. The reader turns to one

subdivision and round it he finds grouped others which are intimately connected with it. New lines of research are thus in some instances suggested, or opinions based on insufficient data modified and corrected.

The choice of a system of classification is manifestly a matter of considerable moment if the aim of this style of catalogue is to be adequately realized. The system should be one that is intrinsically good ; it should be of such simplicity as to be easily capable of comprehension by persons previously unacquainted with it ; at the same time, in the case of a union catalogue, it is desirable that the co-operating libraries should be familiar with the system. Hence the decimal system of classification originated by Dr. Melvil Dewey was selected as best fulfilling these requirements, since its extensive use throughout England and the United States affords evidence that its merits are widely recognized.

AN ANALYTICAL CATALOGUE OF THE CONTENTS OF THE
TWO EDITIONS OF "AN ENGLISH GARNER," compiled
by EDWARD ARBER (1877-97), and rearranged under the
editorship of Thomas Seccombe (1903-04). 1909. 8vo,
pp. viii, 221. 1s. net.

In every library there are a considerable number of important contributions to literature which are simply buried and neglected for want of proper cataloguing, because, by an accident of birth, they appear in a volume with other equally important works, which have been lumped together without any distinguishing title-pages, or have been disguised under some misleading title.

The component parts of the transactions of many learned societies, or of such composite volumes as those which form the subject of this catalogue, represent, in a large number of instances, results of scholarly research of much greater value to the student than the more ambitious, but less trustworthy works which are allowed to cumber the shelves and the catalogues of many of our libraries.

Every item recovered from this buried material and made accessible by means of a catalogue entry, adds to the available resources of the library and often is more valuable than the purchase of new volumes. The smaller the library the greater the need to have its resources expanded in this way.

There never has been a question as to the desirability of getting at this hidden material, but the question of ability to carry out the work with the limited resources at the disposal of many libraries has long taxed their ingenuity. Hitherto libraries have been content to work independently of each other, working, it is true, for a common object, but without concerted effort, and by as many different methods and systems as there are different authorities. The result has been a most deplorable waste of energy. Think of the economy of energy that could be effected if libraries were to enter into a friendly arrangement, under which each undertook to analyse a different set of similar collections, and to supply to the others a copy of the resulting entries!

The present catalogue of the two editions of "An English Garner" has been printed with the object of emphasizing the need for the analytical treatment of works of this character. It is also intended to demonstrate the practicability of placing the work of one library at the service of other libraries at a small cost.

The catalogue has been printed on one side of the paper only, in such a way that the entries can be cut up and laid down on cards, or otherwise treated for insertion in any cumulative alphabetical author catalogue. In the case of libraries where it cannot be so employed the volume may be found to be of service in its existing form to students of the history and literature of our own country, since it provides a key to a storehouse of pamphlets, broadsides, and occasional verses, collected in the "Garner," many of which are practically unobtainable elsewhere.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE LIBRARY AND ITS CONTENTS, illustrated with thirty-seven views and facsimiles. 1914. 8vo, pp. xvi, 73, and thirty-seven illustrations. 6d. net.

A revised edition of the handbook, the object of which is to provide visitors to the library with a brief narrative of the inception, foundation, and growth of the institution, followed by a hurried glance at some of the most conspicuous of the literary treasures which have made it famous.

Included is a brief description of the building which is regarded by experts as one of the finest specimens of modern Gothic architecture in this or in any country.

The illustrations consist of a number of views of the library, and facsimiles of some of the most noteworthy of the manuscripts and printed books, several of which are reproduced for the first time.

The second volume of the "CATALOGUE OF GREEK PAPYRI" is in an advanced state of preparation, and may be looked for FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS. towards the end of the year. The papyri dealt with consist mainly of non-literary documents of an official or legal character, some of which date back to the Ptolemaic period. The chief interest, however, will centre in the description of the collection of carbonized papyri of Thmûis. These papyri were found, says Dr. Hunt, as well as others of the same group in various European collections, without doubt in the ruined building in Thmûis (Tell Timai), partly excavated by the expedition of the Egypt Exploration Fund during the season 1892-3, whose chambers were found choked by a medley of decayed rolls, and it is interesting to learn that the documents which will be printed in this volume form the largest body yet published from this source.

The "CATALOGUE OF ENGLISH BOOKS TO 1640 IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY," which has been in course of preparation for a number of years, will be in the hands of the printer before the end of the year. It will furnish full bibliographical descriptions of the books in the main alphabetical author part of the catalogue, followed by a chronological short-title catalogue, and the necessary indexes of subjects, places, printers, etc.

Two new issues of the "JOHN RYLANDS FACSIMILES" are in active preparation. The first will consist of a portfolio of facsimile reproductions of eight early engravings in the possession of the library, including the famous prints of "St. Christopher" and "The Annunciation". The reproductions will be of the exact size of the originals, whilst the "St. Christopher" and "The Annunciation" will be in the exact colours of the originals. The descriptive text is being prepared by Mr. Campbell Dodgson, who is Keeper of the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum.

The other the "ODES AND PSALMS OF SOLOMON," which will be reproduced in facsimile of the exact size of the original Syriac manuscript, and will be accompanied by a typographical reprint or transliteration, and a revised translation, upon which Dr. Rendel Harris is at present engaged. There will be an ex-

haustive introduction dealing with the variations of the fragmentary MS. in the British Museum, the accessory patristic testimonies, and a summary of the most important criticisms that have appeared since Dr. Harris published his first edition in 1909.

The article on "The Modern Greek and his Ancestry" which appears in the present issue is an expansion, with illustrative notes, of the lecture delivered by Professor Thumb in the lecture hall of the library, on the 9th of October, 1913, to a large and appreciative audience.

THE MODERN
GREEK AND
HIS ANCES-
TRY.

A complete list of the periodical publications, including the transactions of learned societies, which are regularly subscribed for by the library will be found in the present issue. The list shows the range of the library files, and it will be noticed that, with a few exceptions, there is a complete set of each publication from the commencement of its career. There are also in the library many sets of similar publications which have ceased to appear, of which a list is in preparation for inclusion in the next issue, which will be published in March, 1915.

PERIODICAL
PUBLICA-
TIONS.

It has been found necessary at the last moment to withhold the list of the most important of the works added to the library during the year until the next issue, in consequence of the large amount of space occupied by the list of periodicals.

LIST OF
ADDITIONS.

As we go to press, the news reaches us of the death of Mr. Stephen Joseph Tennant, the Honorary Treasurer of the Library, which took place on Wednesday, the 7th of October, at his residence at Poynton, Cheshire, in the seventy-second year of his age, after several months of painful illness most patiently borne. Mr. Tennant was the twin-brother of the late Mrs. Rylands, the foundress of the Library, and was closely associated with the institution from its inception. As one of the original Trustees, as a Life Governor, and as Honorary Treasurer he served it with untiring devotion and ability from the date of its inauguration until within a few months of his death.

DEATH
OF THE
HONORARY
TREASURER.

No member of the Council of Governors was more assiduous in his attendance at the meetings, and no one watched with greater interest and pleasure the growing influence of the library and its work.

THE MODERN GREEK AND HIS ANCESTRY.

BY ALBERT THUMB, DR.PHIL., LITT.D.

PROFESSOR OF INDO-GERMANIC PHILOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF STRASSBURG.

I.

IN the history of the Balkan Peninsula during the nineteenth and in the present century, we are always struck anew by the great importance which the question of nationality has for the formation of political frontiers. Urged by the racial consciousness of the nations, diplomacy has not only founded the States of the Balkan Peninsula according to that principle of nationality, but also examines and approves the expansion of these States according to it. And just now the politicians of the Balkans base their titles to the territories won by the present war upon that principle. For the sentence "the Balkans for the Balkan nations" means, that the Balkan territories must be distributed according to what the ethnographical map requires. This, of course, in practice is not so simple ; about the ethnographical map of such a territory as, for instance, Macedonia, the Greeks, Servians, and Bulgarians do not agree at all, because each of these nations thinks it proved by science that the largest part of the country they struggle for is populated by their own race. And so the Macedonian question, which has occupied Europe for years, and which has now become acute, is a characteristic example of "applied anthropology and ethnography". The last example is the planned foundation of an independent Albanian State : though it may be demanded by Austria and Italy in the first place for political and economic reasons, yet it is to be justified only by the fact that the Albanians with regard to their ethnographical position are a peculiar race, plainly different from Slavs and Greeks, forming together with the Greeks the oldest population of the Peninsula. And as the Servians from their desire of expansion would like to swallow Northern Albania and uproot the

Albanians, the principle "Albania for the Albanians" must be objected to: for what is right for Greeks and Slavs is just for Albanians too.

The examples which I have quoted show how sometimes practical politics and theoretical science go together in order to decide on the "to be or not to be" of whole nations.

Greece, the one amongst the Balkan States that first freed herself from the Turkish Empire, also was obliged, soon after having liberated herself, to struggle to give scientific proof of her nationality. When the Greek people directed the attention of Europe to itself by its heroic fight for liberty, and roused the educated men of Europe into a passion of Philhellenic enthusiasm, it was thought an axiom that the brave men who tried with deadly determination to break the bonds of 400 years' slavery were the successors of those Athenians and Spartans who once had repelled the lust of conquest of Oriental barbarians on the battle-fields of Marathon and Plataeae. And although the Philhellenes quickly became sober in a certain sense, yet it was like a bomb, threatening to blow new-risen Greece into the air, when, in the year 1830, the German scholar Fallmerayer, the distinguished investigator of Medieval Greek history, quietly pronounced the sentence that in the Balkans the Greek race had been long ago annihilated.

"Not even a drop of pure and unmixed blood flows in the veins of the Christian population of Modern Greece. A storm like which but few have attacked the people of Europe has spread over the whole territory between the Ister and the inmost corner of the Peloponnesian Peninsula a new race of inhabitants which is related to the great Slavonic race. And a second revolution, perhaps not less important, the immigration of the Albanians into Greece, has finished the scenes of destruction. There is now in the middle of Continental Greece not one Greek family whose ancestors were not Scyths, Slavs or Arnauts, Almugavarians or Franks or hellenised Asiatics from Phrygia."

With these words Fallmerayer, in his "History of the Peninsula of Morea," announced his theory. The vehement excitement to which the Greeks and the Philhellenes were roused, at first hindered a cool examination of the assertion; the pros and cons were debated with equally imperfect arguments; the very putting of the question "Slavs or Greeks," and the one-sided answering of it *a priori*, did not make a disinterested solution possible! For the Greeks the

answer was from the beginning clearly provoked by the importance of the question : for Fallmerayer himself had given a political point to his theory, and the danger for Greece was that the brilliant essayist should on the basis of his doctrine have emphasised the political solidity of the Turks and their right to authority ;² it was still more dangerous for the political existence of Greece that the hypothesis could be used in a panslavistic sense. Even to-day such tendencies are thought dangerous by the Greeks. It is, for instance, not so long ago (in 1900) that the translation of the Bible into the vernacular language, which was favoured by Queen Olga of Greece, a Russian princess, was taken as a symptom of panslavist agitation and therefore combated with passion by the adversaries of the popular language, although there was no relation between the two things.³

I cannot believe that panslavist or even personal motives, such as vanity or the desire of attracting people's attention to himself, impelled Fallmerayer to his assertion :⁴ for his scientific merits and his name as an author protect him against the reproach of needing such vulgar means in order to make an impression.

Fallmerayer's hypothesis, often discussed and much disputed, has evoked the question about the origins of the Modern Greek. The theory of the Slavonisation of Greece had been also broached some time before by the well-known Slavist Kopitar, but only in a few words and without close investigation.⁵ And Kopitar had already pointed to the testimony, which was always quoted anew in this discussion, and is due to a bearer of the Imperial Byzantine Crown. Constantinus Porphyrogennetus (912-959), in one of his numerous works (*De Thematibus*, 2, 53), says about the Peloponnesus : *πάσα χώρα ἐσθλαβώθη καὶ γέγονε βάρβαρος*, "the whole country was slavonised and barbarised".

Let us see now what are the historical facts upon which this saying is based.⁶

The Balkan Peninsula has had such a thorough shifting of its ethnographical conditions as few parts of Europe. At the time when German tribes began moving, that is, at the end of the third century after Christ, a gradual immigration of Slavonic tribes into the Balkan Peninsula began ; their invasions became more and more frequent, since the Goths chose Western Europe as the goal of their conquering expeditions and left to the Slavs an open passage into the Balkan

countries. The Slavonic tribe of the Antes swept over the Haemus in 540, and made the first invasion into Hellas in that year. Different Slavonic tribes spread over Moesia, Thrace, Thessaly, and Epirus during the sixth century ; the pass of Thermopylae and the Isthmus of Corinth did not stop them ; only at the walls of fortified towns such as Constantinople, Thebes, Athens, Corinth, Nauplion, and Patras was the rude force of the attacking hordes broken. Therefore it is an exaggeration to say that Avars and Slavs held the Peloponnesus from about the end of the sixth century for over 200 years without interruption, and that "no Greek could put his foot there" ;⁷ for the fortified places always remained in the hands of the Byzantines. In the same way it is a legend exaggerated by Fallmerayer's fancy that Athens was quite depopulated during 400 years from the sixth century to the tenth century.⁸

A real Slavonisation of some Greek territories took place only in the eighth century, and attained its highest point when a horrible plague in 746 depopulated the Greek territories. Then it was that Slavs came from Thessaly to establish themselves as farmers and shepherds on the deserted country-side, perhaps settled there by the Byzantine Government itself, and that the whole of ancient Greece swarmed with Slavs. If the interpretation of a modern Greek historian is right, that the imperial writer understood the word *χώρα* "country" to mean "open country,"⁹ the quoted words of the Emperor Constantine are justified.

"Even now"—says a Byzantine author of the tenth century¹⁰ who made a meagre epitome of old Strabo—"even now the Skytho-Slavs inhabit almost the whole of Epirus and Hellas (i.e. Middle Greece), the Peloponnesus and Macedonia"—a sentence which allows us some latitude of interpretation, because the saying is restricted by the little word "almost," where a certain ignorance and inexactitude is concealed. That the Slavonic settlements of Greece Proper have had a different character from those of Croatia, Bulgaria, and Servia, is proved by the fact that in the territory of ancient Greece Slavonic States were not founded, as in Bulgaria and Servia, and that politics and culture remained Greek throughout in the numerous cities.

Finally when more and more Slavs followed and became an ever greater danger for the parts which had remained Greek and for the Byzantine Empire itself, the Empress Irene, a born Athenian, widow

of Leo IV., who, as her son's guardian, reigned from 780, sent her favourite chieftain, Staurakios, in 783, against the Slavonic inhabitants of Thessaly, Middle Greece, and the Peloponnesus. The year 783 marks an epoch in the history of the Slavonic settlements of Greece. Byzantium was trying to master the intruders. Immediately the Slavs were driven to a new rebellion, to an attack against the city of Patras. The patron saint of the town, Saint Andreas himself, saved Patras in 805 or 807, so pious tradition tells us, and preserved the Peloponnesus from thorough Slavonisation. During the ninth century the Slavs of the Peloponnesus were entirely overthrown, with the exception of the Ezerites and Milingi, who still for a long time maintained themselves in the mountains of Laconia.

With the defeat of the Slavs, the Greek elements of Hellas were strengthened again and began to absorb the Slavonic intruders. It is well known that Byzantium gave Christianity and culture to the Slavonic world : here, in the heart of Greece, Christianisation was the means which Greeks used for absorbing the foreign elements. The Hellenisation of the Slavonic Peloponnesus as a whole must have been quickly executed ; if in the thirteenth century, or even still later, some remains of Slavonic-speaking inhabitants are still mentioned by Byzantine authors,¹¹ we must not draw conclusions from the statement for the whole ethnographical configuration of the Peloponnesus ; thus, for instance, the fact that some Slavs live nowadays in the purely German province of Brandenburg or that the Welsh live in Wales does not allow us to conclude that Prussia is now a Slavonic country or England a Celtic one.

II.

I have tried to describe shortly the historical facts on the basis of which Fallmerayer founded his hypothesis. Do these facts justify the German historian ? At first they might seem to do so. But we have been already obliged to emphasise the fact that the Greek element always was preserved in the cities, and we had especially to cite the Peloponnesus as the place of Slavonic settlements, whereas the other countries which were Greek in antiquity were little or not at all touched by the Slavonic inundation.

In order to gain clear evidence about the ethnographical composi-

tion of the Modern Greek race, we ought before all to know the local expansion and the number of the Slavs who settled on Greek territory. But just there the proofs and documents fail, which we might expect from historical inquiry : we are not able to make an ethnographical map of the Slavonic epoch of Greece on the basis of historical or better documentary tradition, that is, we cannot precisely say in what proportion each district was inhabited by the Slavs : for the occasional historical proofs which we quoted above, or a notice in the journey of Bishop Willibald von Eichstätt (eighth century) saying that the town Monembasia (called Malvasia by the Venetians) is situated "in Sclavinia terra," i.e. in Slavonic country,¹² such testimonies are too general and too inexact sufficiently to inform us about the matter we want to know. Direct proofs of Slavonic inhabitants, especially archæological discoveries and inscriptions, are missing ; a single inscription, called Slavonic and found near Eleusis, is of doubtful value.¹³ So we must seek for other means of help. A starting-point is the present grouping of the Balkan peoples. Greeks, i.e. Greek-speaking people, live to-day in the kingdom of Greece (with the exception of the districts inhabited by Albanians—see below), namely, in the provinces of Hellas and Thessaly ; Greeks inhabit exclusively the Ionian Islands and all islands of the \mathcal{E} gean together with Crete ; they form the main population of Epirus and the coast of Macedonia and Thrace, where at some points they extend far into the inner parts, for instance as far as Serres in Macedonia and Adrianople and Philippopolis ; in the same manner, on the eastern border of the \mathcal{E} gean, i.e. the western coast of Asia Minor, and on the southern coast of the Black Sea to the frontier of Armenia, there are a number of Greek towns and villages : the line of the coast from about Sinope to Trebizond may directly be called a continuous dominion of the Greek language. Here and in single communities in the middle of Asia Minor (near the Taurus Mountains)¹⁴ as well as on the southern border of Asia Minor the Greek language and Greek nationality have preserved and developed in quite an original manner. And finally the Isle of Cyprus is almost entirely Greek, probably more so than in the bloom of antiquity. The coast from Constantinople to Varna until a few years ago was also chiefly populated by Greeks (now they have greatly diminished here), and the towns of the northern coast of the Black Sea have important Greek colonies.¹⁵ Although to-day the

race has no longer the imposing extension which it had during the hey-day of Attic sea-power or even in the time of Hellenistic kingdoms—Greek culture stretched then from the Columns of Hercules, i.e. from the Atlantic Sea, as far as the country of the Colchians near the Caucasus, from Marseille to Mesopotamia and for a time to India,—although the Greek race of to-day is less extended, yet it reigns in the pure Greek countries of the Ancient World, i.e. round the *Ægean* Sea : there are no Slavs in these countries ; there, where the latter prevail, i.e. in Bulgaria, in the *Hinterland* of Thrace and Macedonia, the Slavs have not supplanted the Greeks, but Hellenised or Latinised Macedonians, Paeonians, Illyrians, Thracians.¹⁶

In Greece Proper, Slavs have now quite disappeared, as I said before. About their former geographical expansion we are informed better than by history by the examination of the geographical names in Greek countries. The value and use of this criterion may be illustrated by the parallel conditions of Western Europe and England. Suppose we knew nothing from history about the ethnographical condition of Germany, France, and England, we might then conclude something about the ancient inhabitants from the geographical names : names such as Moguntiacum-Mainz, Brigantium-Bregenz, Brisiacum-Breisach in Germany, or Lugudunum-Lyon, Augustodunum-Autun in France, Eboracum-York, Campodunum, Noviomagus in England would inform us by their Celtic etymology, that the Celtic race was spread over the south and west of Germany, over France and England ; names of cities such as Augsburg = Augusta Rauracorum, Cöln = Colonia, Coblenz = Confluentes in Germany would attest Roman settlements, even if historical tradition or archæological discoveries did not exist. And between the Elbe and Weichsel River names such as Dresden, Chemnitz, Leipzig, and many others would surely testify by their etymology the former existence of Slavonic inhabitants, even if we did not know how German kings were obliged to win and to Germanise the country in a long series of battles with Slavs.

In the same manner the existence of Slavonic settlers is evidenced by geographical names in Greece : Tyrnavos (compare Trnova in Bulgaria), Ostrovo, Smokovo in Thessaly, Arachova, near Delphi, and in different parts of the Peloponnesus, Zagora, the name of the ancient Helicon, the seat of the Muses, Mount Chelmos in the north-west,

Verzova in the south-east of Arcadia, Gortsia in Laconia, Tserova and Selitsa in the territory of the Taygetus Mountains, the Kamenitsa River in Elis, Vostitsa in Achaia—these names which I take at random and which I could multiply to any extent, are of Slavonic origin and prove that in all the quoted districts Slavs were once settled. Examining these names more exactly, we observe that in some parts of the Peloponnesus they are more frequent, whereas Attica is almost entirely without Slavonic traces, and just there the conservation of names of the ancient communities or *demosi* strikes us : I quote the names of Kephisia, Mendeli (= Pentele), Marathonas, Ampelokipi, which is ancient Alopeke transformed by popular etymology. How in the course of time an old name can be entirely transformed, and how in spite of it a trace of the original denomination can be left, may be illustrated by the name of Mount Hymettus. After it had been preserved during the barbarian invasions of the middle age till the epoch of the Frankish conquerors, the mountain received from the Italians (Venetians) the name of Monte Matto, the foreigners adapting the word Hymettos to their own language, the word *matto* meaning "mad". The Italian denomination became more and more familiar to the Greeks, and forgetting the old name they translated again the name Monte Matto in their language as Trelovuno, i.e. "a mad mount"; this popular name only now is vanishing under the ancient name Hymettos (pronounced *lmitós*) which is due to the influence of the school.

A critical inquiry into the whole material of geographical names—a work useful and important to the historian as well as to the ethnographer and to the linguist—is still to be made; ¹⁷ the statements of Fallmerayer and of his followers, as well as of his opponents, are quite void of a strictly scientific method, and contain many strange ideas. For instance, the opinion must be definitely abandoned to-day, that the modern name Morea for the Peloponnesus is of Slavonic origin; the word is of pure Greek origin meaning "country of mulberries".¹⁸ Many strange names were thought to be Slavonic, whereas they are in reality Albanian. Only when we once have the results of such an inquiry arranged in an ethnographical map, shall we be able to get perfect information about the ethnography of the Greek territories. Then we shall see in which districts Slavs have never lived, and where Greeks preserved themselves unmixed. That the cities always

remained Greek we have seen above ; with this conclusion agrees the fact that ancient names like Corinth, Nauplia, Patras, Lebadea, Thebes, Athens, Phersala (in Thessaly), and so on have resisted the storms of centuries. However, not only in the towns but also in the open country Greeks have preserved themselves : Argolis, for instance, is proved to have been free from Slavs by the great scarcity of Slavonic names ; the district Kynuria (on the east side of the Parnon Mountains) has remained quite Greek in the centre, as the existence of the curious tribe of the Tsaconians shows : whose language is a descendant of the ancient Laconian dialect. Furthermore an exhaustive inquiry made by myself into the geographical names in this district has confirmed the fact that Slavonic traces are missing entirely or almost entirely in Kynuria and in the southern neighbourhood of it as far as Malvasia (Monembasia).¹⁹ For the same reason the inhabitants of the Taenaron Peninsula, about south of the line Tsimova-Gythion, the brave Maniates, men full of love of liberty, may pride themselves on a pure Greek ancestry.²⁰ Exact inquiry, therefore, does not confirm the assertion that in the Peloponnesus only one Greek geographical name is to be found against ten Slavonic ones. Thus even the condition of the Peloponnesus, which is used in the first place as a test for the Slavonisation of ancient Greek territory, does not allow us to say that the Greek inhabitants have been quite eradicated there,²¹ still less may be said about the other parts of Greece : large districts, the abode of Hellenism since the oldest times, have always preserved their Greek population. The Islands of the Ægean, the Greek countries of Asia Minor and the Island of Cyprus were never influenced by the waves of the Slavonic flood.²²

III.

A rapid survey of Greek ethnography shows that Fallmerayer's thesis from which we started proved a great failure : the premisses —i.e. extirpation of the Greek race and entire Slavonisation of the country—are false ; therefore it is wrong to conclude that no drop of ancient Greek blood flows in the veins of the modern Greek. On the other hand, no one can deny that in part of the Greek territories, especially in the Peloponnesus and generally in continental Greece, a physical mixture of Greek and Slavonic blood took place.²³ If a

serious historian of merit like the Greek Konstantinos Sathas tries to dispute the fact of Slavonic immigration, and to erase it from medieval Greek history, it is nothing but a caprice or a sophism. For Sathas says that the immigrants, who were called Slavs by the Byzantines, were not Slavs but Albanians, part of a race closely related to the Greeks. Nobody has been convinced by the Greek scholar, and the fact of Slavonic geographical names cannot be explained and removed by such a theory.²⁴ But even if the theory of Sathas were correct, it would be irrelevant to the question of nationality, whether the Greeks have mixed with Slavs or with another race ; for the opinion of many Greeks is wrong, that the Albanians are more closely related to the Greeks than to the Slavs : the Albanians, whose territory reaches from about the north of Epirus to the frontiers of Montenegro and Servia, are descendants of the ancient Illyrians, and as is proved by modern inquiry, they are kindred to Greeks not more than, for instance, Italians and Slavs.²⁵

But it is true that the Albanians also belong to the elements which took part in the physical transformation of the Greek race. Christian Albanians during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries immigrated into Greece as farmers and shepherds, and settled in Boeotia and Attica, in Euboea, and in the Peloponnesus (especially in the eastern districts and in Arcadia). The German geographer, Alfred Philippson, who has given statistics of the Albanians²⁶ in the kingdom of Greece, estimates their number in the Peloponnesus at the time of their greatest extension (fifteenth century) as 200,000, about the half of the whole population at that time : to-day their number in the Peloponnesus is only 90,000 against the whole population of 730,000. Compact masses of Albanians still live to-day in Argolis and in some other provinces of the Peloponnesus. Moreover, the villages of Attica, the Isle of Salamis and parts of Boeotia, Aegina, and Andros are inhabited by Albanians. But because these Albanians from the beginning did not stand in hostile opposition to the Greeks, their Hellenisation began quickly and without difficulty : having no definite national feelings, and being connected with their countrymen by the same religion, they are now either totally Hellenised or have at least adopted Greek customs and Greek feeling : they were among the most prominent champions of the Greek war of liberty. Even those who have not yet given up their language

make use of it only in the family, but speak Greek in public life. As I observed myself with a young educated man of a Boeotian village, it would be very difficult for them to use the Albanian language for the purposes of politics and higher culture. This "diglossy" or bilingual condition prepares the way for complete Hellenisation, which is but a question of time.

IV.

Thus Slavs and Albanians are the two elements which were added to the ancient Greek blood: but large districts such as the Greek Islands and Asia Minor have remained free alike from the one and the other. All the other foreigners, who in course of time settled on Greek soil, were in such a minority that they are only of a very small importance for the question of nationality: I name, for instance, Romans and Goths before the Slavonic invasion, the so-called Franks (especially Italians) since the crusade of 1204,²⁷ the Gipsies, Jews, and Turks. Undoubtedly there was no thorough and lasting mixture with these peoples, partly because some of them had no numerical importance, and partly because others such as the Turks were always sharply separated from the Greeks by political and religious contrasts.

From the historical and ethnographical conditions of Modern Greece it results therefore that her inhabitants certainly do not form a pure race of ancient Greek origin, homogeneous from an anthropological point of view; on the other hand, they are neither a new race nor a new nationality on ancient ground; on the contrary, the native element has absorbed the foreign intruders, has stamped them with its own seal. That is to-day the general opinion of all scholars of repute, although the followers of Fallmerayer have not yet died out.²⁸ Now the question for us is to fix the national character of this anthropological crossing in order that we may know the exact relation between ancient and modern Greeks. Therefore we must examine the question whether and in what degree the foreign elements have influenced the natives with regard to their physical and psychological qualities.

The science of anthropology must first be consulted as to whether it can give us facts which will bring the question to an issue. It is true that anthropological statistics, especially craniometry, no longer

enjoy to-day the high esteem which the results of that science formerly enjoyed with regard to historical and ethnographical problems : anthropologists, resting on their statistical tables, have often disregarded the theories and the conclusions of historians. However, we may not neglect anthropology, if we can compare measurements of ancient and modern times, and if the question has reference to race mixture testified by historical tradition.

As for the ancient Greeks, it is the usual but not undisputed opinion (which is based on the measuring of skulls and of ancient statues), that on an average they were mesocephalic with the index 77, near the mark of the dolichocephalic form. In the modern Greeks this index has changed a little, to 80, the beginning of the brachycephalic measurement.²⁹ From a group of ancient Greek skulls examined by Professor Virchow,³⁰ the following proportion is calculated for the numbers of dolichocephalic, mesocephalic and brachycephalic individuals :—

dolichocephalic 28%	meso- 52%	brachy- 20%
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As to the Greeks of to-day I found the following proportion, calculated from 112 skulls³¹ :—

15%	31%	54%
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and I myself calculated from another group of 76 skulls³² :—

17%	33%	50%
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On the other hand, the southern Slavs are clearly broad-skulled : their index varies from 81·6 for the Servians to 85·1 for the Croatians, and 87 for Herzegovina,³³ and on an average there are found (according to Ranke)—

dolichoceph. 3%	meso- 25%	brachy- 72%
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Now what are the conclusions from these tables ? That the Greeks have become Slavs, that "no drop of Greek blood" is in the Modern Greek, is certainly not proved by the quoted numbers : a mixture only may be inferred from the change of the cranio-metrical numbers. An exact examination, however, does not oblige us to draw even this conclusion as a necessary one, and French and German anthropologists

directly oppose the conclusion.³⁴ For brachycephalism is not found chiefly in districts once inhabited by Slavs, but in districts free of Slavs, as for instance on the Ionian Islands and in a quite particular degree with the Greeks of Kerasus (on the northern shore of Asia Minor),³⁵ whereas on the contrary dolichocephalism has been clearly established in Thessaly, where great numbers of Slavs must once have lived. Of an especial interest are the anthropometrical facts which an English scholar recently gave about the population of Crete, an island in which Slavonic immigration is out of the question.³⁶ He has measured ancient skulls from Minoan, i.e. prehistoric tombs, also a great number (c. 2300) of modern skulls. The index of the Minoan skulls is 76, the proportion between the dolichocephalic and brachycephalic individuals being 5 : 1, the index of modern skulls is 79, the respective proportion being 5 : 4. But there are characteristic local differences : in the mountains dolichocephalism is more frequent than in the plains—with the exception of the mountain district of the Sphakiotes (south of Canea) : this curious tribe has the index 80·4, and the broad-skulled ones are more numerous than the long-skulled ones (3 : 2). As we have evidence that these Sphakiotes are a real survival of the ancient Greek population,³⁷ it is without doubt that brachycephalism has no relation to later (medieval) immigrants. And as for the Greek continent, it is more probable that mixture with broad-skulled Albanians³⁸ has produced the increasing brachycephalism among Greeks ; at least a Greek anthropologist³⁹ has observed a more frequent brachycephalism in the Albanian districts of the Kingdom. The numbers I related above can therefore not be valued for Slavonic mixture, if we consider, moreover, that brachycephalism may have its first origin in prehistoric or at least in pre-Slavic times.⁴⁰

Thus Fallmerayer's followers gain little help from anthropology. It seems almost as though the Slavs had not left any physical traces : a natural selection has perhaps taken place in such a manner, that in mixing, only those individuals were strong enough to preserve themselves in whom the native Greek element was predominant.⁴¹ If a traveller believes himself to have found Slavonic features in Thessaly,⁴² this single observation may be an auto-suggestion ; much more striking are certainly the tall and fair-coloured Albanian figures or the individuals with clearly Semitic features, whom I observed not infrequently. What we are accustomed to style the ancient Greek type

has been noticed by travellers in different regions, especially on the islands, and in Asia Minor.

There is perhaps just one anthropological fact to be quoted directly against the hypothesis of Slavonisation, but I shall not insist upon it : whereas the fertility of the Slavs, i.e. the great number of births, is notorious, Greece has in the whole of Europe one of the smallest birth-rates. Other characteristics, like a rigid conservatism in religion or the ability to learn foreign languages (of which the latter was pointed out by Fallmerayer), are too little peculiar to Greeks and Slavs to be considered as premisses for inferring mixture of blood and race.⁴³

But even if a large mixture of blood should prove to be a fact from anthropological inquiries, it would be of no avail for the question of nationality in a higher sense. For as, for instance, the belonging to the English or German people does not depend on the evidence of a long skull, and as the Englishman, in spite of his Celtic blood, or the German of Prussia, in spite of his Slavonic blood, will not allow his English or German nationality to be questioned, so must the nationality of the modern Greek be considered from the same point of view : not physical characteristics, but the totality of language, manner of thinking, ideas and customs, in short, the sum of spiritual qualities form primarily the conception of nationality. And with regard to these things we find in Greece nothing of Slavonic traces, or only such a small remainder that they can only be detected by a very minute examination. First it deserves notice that there is in Greece no evidence of great Slavonic families forming the base of a modern Greek nobility,⁴⁴ whereas numerous noble families, for instance on the Ionian Islands, have their ancestry in the Venetian nobility.

V.

The most important and the most peculiar mark of a people is their language, which is used for ethnographical grouping also by those ethnologists who dispute the value of this criterion with a smile of superiority. Thus the language of the modern Greek is a very valuable testimony for his ancestry : Modern Greek is certainly not Ancient Greek (which nobody could reasonably expect), but it is in spite of many differences a legitimate child, a natural development of Ancient Greek.⁴⁵ All attempts to detect in the Modern Greek grammar, in

phonology and accidente or in syntax foreign influences, Slavonic or Albanian or others, have failed and must fail, because what has been thought to be foreign and modern had already begun to develop a long time before the invasion of Slavs and Albanians, partly even before the Roman epoch. Modern Greek existed already in germ at the end of antiquity, for Hellenistic Greek, being the medium between Attic and Modern Greek, already shows the essential characteristics of grammar, which constitute the differences between the classic and modern language. For instance, Modern Greek pronunciation, the so-called Itacism, had almost developed in the epoch of the Roman Emperors. And not only the common vernacular language of to-day, but also the modern dialects (with the exception of Tsaconian) are daughters of Hellenistic Greek. Besides it may be observed, that the literary language used at the present in Greece is no natural result of linguistic development, but an artificial product of scholastic tradition, and as a matter of course, this literary language with its intentional archaisms has nothing to do with our ethnographical inquiry, since only the natural development of language bears on this question.

Language, however, does not only consist of sounds and grammatical forms and uses, but also of words. But to know the true character of a language the dictionary is of a smaller importance, and the loan and foreign words which are imported into a language do not influence the ethnographical character of a people, any more than does the importation of coffee, tea, and tobacco. Thus English has remained a Germanic language, although it teems with French loan-words ; none of the European civilised languages was or is able to keep free from the influence of foreign languages. Therefore it is not strange that foreign words in great number have come into Hellenistic, Medieval, and Modern Greek. First it was Rome that imported many words, especially those of public life and trade, into the Hellenistic and early Byzantine language : then the Frankish conquerors, and above all the seafaring Venetians followed with numerous naval and commercial terms ; and finally the Turks have enlarged the Greek vocabulary in many departments of everyday life down to the bill of fare and the words of abuse. What now about the Slavic words ? When brought into relation with the facts as stated they are so very trifling, that nobody would infer from their

existence the idea that Slavs and Greeks closely touched one another. An excellent authority on the Balkan languages, the late Professor Gustav Meyer of Gratz, has collected the Slavic words of Modern Greek from all sources that he could find,⁴⁶ yet his collection does not number more than 273 entries, and among this number the districts near the Slavonic frontiers, viz. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, where the neighbourhood of the Slavs even to-day gives occasion to contact between the two nations, furnish the most Slavic words, whereas those of common or nearly common use are at best no more than seventy, a number which is very small in comparison with the great number of Romance and Turkish elements. And if we consider that a great many of the Slavic words have found their way into Greek indirectly, namely, through the Turkish language, there is no foundation at all for the fantastic opinion of a "mixed Greco-Slavonic" dialect, which exists only in the imagination of some incompetent people. The number of Slavonic loan-words formerly was hardly much greater: the Chronicle of Morea, a text of the fourteenth century, which relates the history of the Frankish conquest in quite a vulgar speech, contains a great many French and Italian terms, but almost no Slavonic word, although in the epoch of the work unhellénised Slavs still existed in the mountains of the Peloponnesus.⁴⁷ Slavs as well as Albanians, the influence of whom is similar to that of the Slavs,⁴⁸ have always received from Greeks more than they gave to them; those peoples, therefore, who had the closest physical contact with the Greeks, had no influence on Greek nationality and culture: this is a good example for the rule that uncivilised tribes cannot retain their national peculiarity, much less impose it on a higher civilisation.

The preservation of Greek nationality is conspicuous not only in the language, but in all that is comprised in the term folklore, in the thought, superstitions, and customs of the Greek people: the national character of the ancient Greeks has not been lost even under the levelling influence of Christianity, but has developed and survives in modern Greek nationality, sometimes under the cover of ecclesiastical forms.⁴⁹

The ancient Greek gods are indeed forgotten by the people, but ancient ideas of Zeus and other gods are still found in popular ideas about God and the Saints. Zeus nods and Olympus trembles, says

Homer—God shakes his hair and the earth trembles, so think to-day the inhabitants of Zakynthos, who are often frightened by horrible earthquakes. The Saints personate the ancient gods : Saint Nikolaos is the protector of navigation, he saves from the dangers of storms—who does not recall old Poseidon ? Saint George represents the ancient god of war, the veneration of the Panagia, or the Blessed Virgin Mary, reminds us of the virginal Pallas Athene. About Saint Dionysios there is a charming legend which clearly belongs to the legends of Dionysos, the old god of wine : the very name of the saint is almost identical with the name of the ancient god. The tale is so characteristic and amusing that I relate it as a whole.⁵⁰

“When Saint Dionysios was still young, he once made a journey through Greece, in order to go to Naxia (the isle of Naxos), but the way being very long, he got tired and sat down on a stone to rest. While he was sitting and looking down in front of himself, he saw at his feet a little plant sprouting from the earth, which seemed to him so beautiful that he resolved at once to take it with him and to plant it. He took the plant out of the ground and carried it away ; but as the sun was very hot just then, he feared that it might dry up before his arrival in Naxia. Then he found the small bone of a bird and put the small plant into it and went on. In his holy hand, however, the plant grew so quickly that it peeped forth from both sides of the bone. Then he again feared that it would dry up, and thought of a remedy. Then he found the bone of a lion which was thicker than the bird’s bone, and he put the bird’s bone together with the plant into the bone of the lion. But the plant quickly grew even out of the lion’s bone. Then he found the bone of a donkey which was still thicker, and he put the plant together with the bird’s and lion’s bones into the donkey’s bone, and so he came to Naxia. When he was planting the plant, he saw that the roots had thickly wound round the bones of the bird, the lion, and the donkey ; as he could not take it out without injuring the roots, he planted it in the ground as it was, and the plant quickly grew up and produced, to his delight, the finest grapes, from which he made the first wine, and gave it to men to drink. But what a wonder did he see now ! When men drank of it they sang in the beginning as little merry birds ; drinking more of it they became strong as lions, and drinking still more they became like donkeys.”

As the ancient Greeks believed springs, rivers and lakes, woods and trees, mountains and ravines to be filled with Nereids, Nymphs, and Dryads, so according to the belief of the present day wild nature is populated by a swarm of Nereids, this old name being used for all sorts of Elves. In the Tales of Nereids many old traits live on ; there is in them "so much undoubted antiquity, that if literary tradition did not happen to exist, yet we could still recover a nearly true picture of the ancient belief of the Nymphs".⁵¹ So, for instance, the very old myth of Peleus and the Nereid Thetis is preserved in modern fairy tales. The ancient Dryads are continued by the modern Drymjes, goddesses of the forest.⁵² Witches such as Lamias and Striglas and other demons terrify the superstitious people to-day as in antiquity. Charon, the old ferry-man in the underworld; to-day Charos or Charontas, is the god of death in modern belief ; he conducts the souls in a dreary procession to his realm. As in antiquity, a copper coin is put into the mouth of a dead person as fee for the ferry into the other world. The ancient Moirai or Fates (to-day Mires) still do their duty : they design the fate of the new-born child, spin and cut the thread of life. The bride is conducted into her new home, the dead are buried with ceremonies which the Greeks used already two thousand years ago. A sick person seeks recovery by lying down to sleep in the church of a Saint, like those patients who once made a pilgrimage to the temple of Asklepios in Epidauros. And it is remarkable that even a modern folk-song has an old ancestry : the song of the swallow which brings spring is still sung in modern Greece slightly altered.⁵³ This fact is the more curious as we have but few popular songs from antiquity.

My remarks may suffice to show how false it would be to speak of the extinction of the ancient race, as we see everywhere that ancient Greece still lives on in modern Greece. On the other hand, Slavonic traces are hardly to be detected in the sphere of folklore ; they are unimportant and rare at all events. Only a few points, such as the gloomy belief in Vampyres, seem to be influenced by Slavic ideas and features ; at least the widespread but not general name of this ghost, Vrikolakas, *vel sim.*, is Slavonic (compare Servian *vukodlak*, "Vampyre"). We are, however, not entitled to say that this belief is wholly taken from Slavs, for similar traits are not at all wanting in antiquity, as the German philologist, Bernhard

Schmidt, has emphasised in his brilliant work about modern Greek folklore.

Certainly, where the same popular ideas and similar conditions are found among different peoples, it is sometimes difficult to know where they are original, and to which people they are peculiar : we feel this difficulty in a high degree if we examine the origin of the features common to Greeks and Albanians. Here we must be guided by the general idea that the Albanians, as we said before, have at any rate received more than they have given.

And last, not least, what does the moral character of the modern Greek prove for their ancestry ? I do not much value this criterion for our question. But surely the character of the modern Greek people has no resemblance, for instance, to that of the Russian people. The Russians are pessimists and brooders without activity. On the contrary, the mobile and active spirit of the modern Greeks reminds us of that famous characterisation of the Athenians which Thucydides (I, 70) puts in the mouth of a Corinthian : "The Athenians are fond of innovations, and quick in resolve and execution, bold above their strength, braving dangers even against their better knowledge, and in misfortune always full of hope. . . . If they fail in a trial, they put their hope in something else. . . . Therefore, if anybody were to say that they are by nature such as to have no rest, nor to let others rest, he would be saying the truth." In other things, too, the modern Greek has some features of the ancient Athenian, as the gift of speech, also unfavourable features, such as the tendency to superficial thinking and boasting, a quarrelsome temper in political matters, cunning in trade and commerce.⁵⁴

VI.

As modern inquiry shows, the entire and complete ethnographical transformation which Greece is said by Fallmerayer to have undergone is out of the question. The Greeks have mixed with foreign elements like all nations which have a history, but they possessed and possess such a wonderful intensive and extensive elasticity, that in spite of the most contrary fate they were able to absorb foreign culture and foreign races without having their nationality or national characteristics extinguished :⁵⁵ rather, the fading race of antiquity gathered fresh

vitality for itself by the mixture and was rejuvenated.⁵⁶ The Greeks of to-day are descendants of the ancient Hellenes, not in the sense that every modern Greek could trace his origin back to an ancient Athenian or Spartan, and so on ; but they are descendants in this sense, that in the modern people ancient blood flows largely and in some districts almost purely, and they are so still more in the higher sense that the modern race shows a natural development of ancient Greek national character—of course developed and transformed by the influence of all factors upon which depends the transformation of “ unmixed ” nations—if indeed there are unmixed nations with historical life.

On the other hand, it would be wrong to identify and to confuse Ancient and Modern Greek language, or ancient and modern nationality, as zealous exaggerating amateurs like to do : Christianity and the centralisation of the Greeks by the Roman Empire have above all transformed the ancient into the modern people, and that in quite another degree than Slavs, Albanians, and other Barbarians could do. This influence is illustrated by the very name *Romjós* (i.e. *Ρωμαῖος*), which the Byzantine and modern Greeks gave to themselves : the official title of the Byzantine State as a “ Roman or Romaic Empire ” has furnished the popular name *Romjós* for the nation and its people, whereas the ancient name *Hellenes* in popular mind denotes the legendary heathen ancestors, the race of Giants.⁵⁷ Of course the Greeks of to-day are more closely related to the Byzantines than these latter to the ancient Greeks. I might cite numerous examples, but I will content myself with a characteristic one given by the late Professor Krumbacher : the popular proverbs of the Byzantines are closely related to Modern Greek and Oriental proverbs, but have very little relation to the proverbs handed down from antiquity.⁵⁸ The philologists of Byzantium indeed revelled in ancient records, as they saw the sources of education in the spiritual treasures of antiquity ; but the mind of the people, from which the popular proverb has its origin, went its own way. Popular historical memory, too, does not reach beyond the radiant epoch of the Byzantine Empire : Saint Konstantinos, the first Christian Emperor, is the earliest hero of Modern Greek tradition. With the Byzantine Empire is connected the “ great idea ” of the modern Greeks, the idea of resurrection of a great empire with the capital on the

Bosporus. This idea, which is nourished now more than before by the successful issue of the late war, is not only a dream of ambitious politicians, but is rooted in popular tradition.

Thus our theme has finally led us to politics, to the Eastern Question. The problem of the origin of the modern Greeks is connected with this question ; it has a political as well as a scientific importance, as I pointed out in the beginning of my lecture. Historical and ethnographical considerations recommend such a solution of the political problem that the race which in antiquity and in the middle ages ruled the Ægean Sea, the existence and the vitality of which I hope to have proved, should again be put in its historical position.

At the present day, where military and political successes have raised the credit of the Greek nation, it is easier to pronounce such an opinion than it was some years ago,⁵⁰ when the financial and political condition of modern Greece made malevolent men speak of the "so-called Greeks," who are but a "bastard nation," "a mosaic work of Vlachs, Arnauts, and Slavs". But let me avoid speaking of political problems, although I know that Philhellenism has not died out in the English nation. Scientific truth is above all national and political discussion. Yet the truth we have gained about the historical and ethnographical position of the modern Greek, gives us reason to hope that the talented nation that has been so often punished by fate, and sometimes through its own fault, will now have a brighter future.

NOTES.

¹ However it may be observed, that a criticism of Schönwälter in the "Jahrbücher für wissenschaftl. Kritik," I (Berlin, 1840), 31-47, is worth saving from oblivion, and to be read still to-day : the author rejects *sine ira et studio* Fallmerayer's theory.

² Fallmerayer, "Gesammelte Werke" (Leipzig, 1861), II, 14.

³ See A. Thumb, "Die jüngsten Unruhen in Athen und die neugriechische Bibelübersetzung," in "Grenzboten," 1902 (II), 137-144.

⁴ Compare R. von Höller, "Erinnerungen an Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer," in "Mitteilungen des Vereins f. Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen," XXVI (1888), 395 ff.

⁵ "Wiener Jahrbücher," XVII (1822), 95 f.

⁶ I follow Gregorovius in his "Geschichte der Stadt Athen im

Mittelalter". In our own time some details only of the Slavonic immigration into the Balkan Peninsula have been treated. So Jireček, "Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie," XLVIII, 21 ff., gives an excellent and solid description of the Slavonic immigration into the northwest of the Balkans; Gelzer, "Abhandl. d. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wiss.," XVIII (1899), Nr. 5, 42 ff. gives, besides general remarks, some new material. A good orientation in quite a modern manner is found in Bury, "History of the Later Roman Empire," I (1889), 114 ff., 455 ff., and in Philippson, "Petermann's Mitteilungen," 1890, 1 ff. A. Cervesato, "Le colonie slave della Grecia," in "Pensiero Italiano" (Milano), 1896, Nr. 67-68, is not accessible to me.

⁷ Gregorovius, I, 85.

⁸ Gregorovius, I, 86.

⁹ Gregorovius, I, 112.

¹⁰ Gregorovius, I, 114.

¹¹ Namely, the Ezerites and Milingi, see Gregorovius, I, 117.

¹² Compare Gelzer in "Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie," XXXV (1892), 430 ff.

¹³ Gregorovius, I, 122.

¹⁴ About the Greeks of Cappadocia compare the exact statements of Dawkins in "The Journal of Hellenic Studies," XXX (1910), 109 ff., 267 ff.

¹⁵ Isolated Greek remains still exist in Southern Italy (near Reggio and Otranto), in Corsica (in the little town Cargese north of Ajaccio), on the Sea of Azov.

¹⁶ About the geographical extension of the Modern Greeks compare A. Oppel in "Globus," LXXI (1897), 249 ff., and Philippson, "Griechenland und seine Stellung im Orient". The present grouping of races in the Balkans is recently described and illustrated with an excellent ethnographical map by J. Cvijić, "Die ethnographische Abgrenzung der Völker auf der Balkanhalbinsel," in "Petermanns Mitteilungen" (1913), 113 ff., 185 ff., 244 ff. (includes also a bibliography).

¹⁷ For some districts there are now monographs from a modern historical and etymological view, compare A. Thumb, "Die ethnographische Stellung der Zakonen," "Indogerm. Forschungen," IV (1894), 195 ff., Σπ. Λάμπρος, "Ἡ ὄνοματολογία τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ ἡ ἐποίκησις τῶν Ἀλβανῶν," "Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ," I (1896), 186-192, Σ. Μενάρδος, "Τοπωνυμικὸν τῆς Κύπρου," "Αθηνᾶ," XVIII (1906), 315 ff. As I see from "Διαγραφία," I, 422, a committee has been established by the Greek Minister of Education for studying the geographical names of Greece.

¹⁸ See "Byzantin. Zeitschrift," II, 283 ff.

¹⁹ See note 17.

²⁰ I collected the geographical names of the Maina in 1894, and give above the general result of my inquiry which is based upon the following statistical table:—

Districts.	Total Number of Geographical Names.	Undoubtedly of Slavonic Origin.
Gythion-Kotrona	564	24 = 4·2 %.
Lagia	504	4 = 0·8 %.
Messa	501	18 = 3·6 %.
South of Vitylo	275	9 = 3·2 %.
Vitylo-Tsimova	319	24 = 7·5 %.
Leftro-Platsa	472	78 = 16·5 %.
Kardamula-Kampos	425	57 = 13·4 %.

²¹ That *no* district of the Peloponnesus was entirely free from Slavs, as Philippson says, seems to me an exaggeration.

²² These conclusions are not altered by the fact, that at various times Slavs have made piratical raids on the islands. The article of Šišmanov, "Slavonic Settlements on Crete and other Islands" (Bulgarian), in "Bulgarski pregled," 1897, Nr. 3, which is not accessible to me, needs a critical examination, as Krumbacher says, "Byzantin. Zeitschrift," VI, 637: the Slavonic influence cannot be at all important. Also Slavonic traces in Asia Minor (see B. A. Pančenko, "Izvěstije Russago archeol. Instituta," VIII, 15 ff.) are unimportant for our question.

²³ Compare Gelzer, l.c. 52: "Die Hellenenausrottung und die Slavisierung waren weder so gründlich und vollständig, wie Fallmerayer, noch so sporadisch und unbedeutend, wie Hopff annahm".

²⁴ What I said about Sathas concerns still more the strange theory of another Greek, who asserts without any proof, that the Slavs have not been Hellenised, but went back again to the Donau!

²⁵ In passing it may be noted, that Gobineau, "Deux études sur la Grèce moderne" (Paris, 1905), 265 f. had a similar idea about the Albanians and their mixture with the Greeks.

²⁶ See "Petermann's Mitteil.," 1890, 33 ff., "Zeitschr. d. Gesellschaft f. Erdkunde zu Berlin," XXV (1890), 402 f. For the whole kingdom Philippson estimates the number of the Albanians at 22,400 = 11·3 %. In the middle of the 19th century the number of Albanians in Greece was estimated at 172,000 = c. 14 %, see "Zeitschr. d. Gesellschaft f. Erdkunde zu Berlin," 1857, 490. Albanian colonies formerly existed also in Ios, Kythnos, Samos, Psara, Kasos, settled by the Turkish Government during the 16th century; they were unimportant and have been absorbed long ago. See Hasluck in the "Annual of the Brit. School of Athens," XV (1908), 223 ff.

²⁷ Another foreign element, small in number, the Vlachs, are also being entirely Hellenised; although speaking a Romance language closely related to Roumanian, their national feeling is quite Greek, and the Roumanian propaganda has failed, as all who know confirm—the Roumanians excepted.

²⁸ To these belongs for instance Buschan, "Die Balkanvölker in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart," Stuttgart, 1910. The pamphlet is written superficially and without sufficient knowledge of the subject.

²⁹ M. Hoernes, "Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen," I, 351,

gives 81 as index of the modern Greeks. Because we have but few measurements (not general statistics), it is difficult to state the real average. For all anthropological researches, the book of C. Stéphanos, "La Grèce au point de vue naturel, ethnologique, anthropologique, etc.," Paris, 1884 (Extrait du "Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences médicales"), is still to-day an indispensable source. For some new details compare the authors quoted in the following notes.

³⁰ "Alt- und neugriechische Schädel," "Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akad.," 1893, 677 ff.

³¹ See J. Ranke, "Der Mensch," II, 204.

³² "Δελτίον τῆς ιστορικῆς καὶ ἔθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας," I, 366 ff.

³³ The last number is found in Hoernes, "Naturgeschichte, etc.," I, 350.

³⁴ Compare "Bull. de la Société d'Anthropologie," VII, 658 ff., Diefenbach, "Völkerkunde Osteuropas," I, 142 ff.; otherwise Zaborowski in "La grande Encyclopédie," XIX (1893), 282 ff.

³⁵ See Néophytes in "L'Anthropologie," II (1891), 25 ff.

³⁶ Ch. H. Hawes, "Cretan Anthropology," "Am. Journ. of Archæol.," XV (1911), 65-67, and "Some Dorian Descendants," "Ann. Brit. School of Athens," XVI (1909-1910), 258-280. Some other Minoan skulls have been measured by W. B. Dawkins, "Skulls from Cave Burials at Zarko (Crete)," "The Annual of the Brit. School of Athens," VII (1900-1901), 105 ff.

³⁷ Compare also Hawes, "Some Dorian Descendants," in note 36.

³⁸ The index of Albanians near Skutari is 89 according to Hoernes, l.c. I, 350. Other numbers (between 84 and 90) are communicated by Hawes, "Some Dorian Descendants," 266, 276. The Roumanians, too, are brachycephalic according to the tables of Pittard, "Ethnologie de la Péninsule des Balkans," "Le Globe," LXIII (1904), p. 50.

³⁹ See C. Stéphanos, l.c. 432 ff.

⁴⁰ My remarks show how superficial is the assertion of Buschan (see note 28), that Greek brachycephalism comes from Slav descent.

⁴¹ Compare the opinions of the Danish scholar Vodskov, summarised by Franke in "Indog. Forsch." (Anzeiger), III (1893), 111 ff.

⁴² See Barth in "Berliner Zeitschrift f. allgemeine Erdkunde," XVI (1864), 194 f.

⁴³ Above I have not spoken about the colour of the hair, because we have no means of obtaining a percentual comparison of ancient and modern times. According to Hoernes, l.c. I, 354, in Greece there are 96 % of a dark complexion. This number needs criticism as much as the statement of a French author (Castonnet des Fosses, "La Crète et l'Hellénisme," Paris, 1897, 58), that most inhabitants of Crete are of a fair complexion. C. Stéphanos, l.c. 458, gives a more accurate table, and remarks that fair colour is found in some villages of Laconia (near the Eurotas) and of the mountains of Mantinea and on Mount Dirphys (Euboea). I myself

have made some observations during my travels through Maina and Sphakia. In these districts of the Taygetus and of Crete fair colour is more frequent than I observed elsewhere. The following table is compiled by counting pupils of elementary schools, namely, 206 boys + 3 girls of the schools of Vitylo, Platsa, Kampus (Maina) and 79 boys + 14 girls of the schools of Sphakia town and Anopolis (Sphakia):—

	Dark.	Brown.	Fair.
Maina	42·1 %.	40·2 %.	17·7 %.
Sphakia	32·3 %.	55·9 %.	41·8 %.

My numbers for the Sphakiotes differ throughout from those of Hawes, "Some Dorian Descendants," 269.

In Maina fairness can be explained by mixture with Albanians (see A. Thumb, "Die Maniaten," in "Deutsche Rundschau," 1898, 124). But in the district of the Sphakiotes fair complexion must be of ancient Greek or even prehistoric origin: perhaps the Sphakiotes are anthropologically a survival of the Dorians who came to Crete about 1000 B.C. At any rate fair complexion cannot serve to support Fallmerayer's theory.

⁴⁴ Gregorovius, I, 150.

⁴⁵ A short orientation is found in my essay "Die neugriechische Sprache," Freiburg, 1892.

⁴⁶ "Neugriechische Studien," II ("Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad.," CXXX, 1894). Of course the list of G. Meyer could be supplemented in some points.

⁴⁷ Gregorovius, I, 153 f.

⁴⁸ See G. Meyer "Neugriech. Studien," II (1895).

⁴⁹ About the relation between the ancient and modern folklore compare besides the well-known book of Bernhard Schmidt ("Das Volksleben der Neugriechen"), the more recent works of N. Г. Πολίτης, "Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ, Παραδόσεις," 2 vols., Athens, 1904; Lawson, "Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion," Cambridge, 1910; Mary Hamilton, "Greek Saints and their Festivals," London, 1910 (with the criticisms of Delehaye in "Analecta Bollandiana," XXIX, 460 ff. ; and Gruppe in "Berliner philol. Wochenschrift," 1911, 683 ff.); Hesselink, "Oud- en Nieuwgrieks Volksgeloof," in the "Gids," 1906, Nr. 7, and B. Schmidt, "Neugriechische Volkskunde," in "Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertum," XXVII (1911), 643 ff. (the two last essays are occasioned by the quoted work of Politis). Hesselink as well as B. Schmidt emphasises the survival of Antiquity; the latter, explaining the principles of research, combats K. Dieterich ("Aus neugriech. Sagen," in "Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde," 1905, 380 ff., and "Neugriech. Sagenklänge vom alten Griechenland," "Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertum," XVII, 80 ff.), who denies that modern Greek tradition may reach beyond the Hellenistic times. Modern Greek folklore is now excellently summarised in the periodical edited by Politis, "Λαογραφία. Δελτίον τῆς ἑλληνικῆς λαογραφικῆς ἐταιρείας"

(since 1909, 4 vols.). The book of R. Rodd, "The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece," London, 1892, is not accessible to me.

⁵⁰ See Hahn, "Griech. und albanes. Märchen" (Leipzig, 1864), II, 76, Πολύτης "Παραδόσεις," Nr. 175, Hamilton, l.c. 15 ff.

⁵¹ B. Schmidt, "Neue Jahrbücher," l.c. 651.

⁵² See B. Schmidt, l.c. 654 ff., Lawson, 151 ff., Hamilton, l.c. 187 ff.

⁵³ Compare most recently Hamilton, l.c. 155 f.

⁵⁴ In my lecture I dealt only with the Greeks as an ethnographical unit, although I indicated sometimes local differences. There is in the first place a remarkable (anthropological and linguistic) difference between the Greeks of Asia Minor and those of the other countries; it comes from antiquity (as for instance Gobineau, l.c., 268, has already emphasised). Especially the dialects of Pontus and Cappadocia are developed in quite an original manner, and their moral character, too, is different from that of the European and Insular Greeks. Moreover, some Greek tribes have a peculiar character, as the Agraphiotes of Mount Pindos, who are but little known, the Tsaconians in ancient Kynuria, with their strange Dorian dialect, the Maniates in the Taygetus Peninsula, whom I studied in a journey in 1894 (see "Deutsche Rundschau," 1898, 110 ff.), and the Sphakiotes in the "White Mountains," south of Canea; after having made a journey there in 1912, I shall treat of this interesting tribe in the "Deutsche Rundschau," 1914.

⁵⁵ It deserves notice, that an excellent Servian scholar, J. Cvijić (l.c. 246, see note 16), has recently acknowledged this absorbing force of Hellenism.

⁵⁶ See also Gobineau, l.c., and Gelzer, l.c.

⁵⁷ About the name *Ρωμαῖος*, *Romjós*, compare for instance Krumbacher, "Das Problem der neugriechischen Schriftsprache" (München, 1903), 191 ff.

⁵⁸ See Krumbacher, "Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter" (München, 1893), Introduction.

⁵⁹ See my papers "Die heutigen Griechen," in the "Deutsche Rundschau," 1897, 226 and "Pro Graecia," *ib.*, 1913, 473 ff.

THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

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AS the acquisition by the Rylands Library of an almost complete manuscript of the Odes of Solomon is one of the most important events in the recent history of the institution, it may be worth while to give a brief statement, by which the readers of the Bulletin may form an idea of the value of the document which has been annexed.

The book in question is a small volume, not many centuries old, damaged by time and perhaps by exposure to water, with two or three pages missing at the beginning and the end, and not a single headline to indicate the contents of the book. It is written in the Syriac language, and it had been lying with a heap of other stray leaves of manuscripts on the shelves of my library, without awakening any suspicion that it contained a lost hymn-book of the Early Church, of the Apostolic times, or, at the very latest, of the sub-Apostolic times, that is to say, a document contemporary, or almost so, with the New Testament itself. The statement is so surprising, and the recovery of such a book so altogether unlikely and unexpected, that it has taken a good deal of time for Christian students to make themselves familiar with their enrichment, and there is still a certain amount of incredulity and suspicion with regard to the new visitor, just as there was, for example, when the Teaching of the Apostles was published, with its unexpected illumination of some of the most difficult transitions in the organisation and belief of the early Christian churches. There can, however, be no doubt that the volume in question is the very book which is known in catalogues of early ecclesiastical literature as the Odes of Solomon, for it can be identified by actual quotations made from it by writers of the third century

and the early part of the fourth century, after which time it appears to have gone out of use, except that there are a few later traces of it in the Syrian Church. And what a lovely book it is ! utterly radiant with faith, hope and love ! shot through and through with what the New Testament calls the Joy of the Lord.

It was a wise thought on the part of the authorities of the John Rylands Library to signalise the acquisition of the book by the production of a standard edition, in which the text should be facsimiled, transcribed, translated, and commented on, with due reference to the multitude of editions and commentaries which have already appeared, not only in Germany, but in almost all leading European countries, and in the United States. The prospect of producing such an edition for the John Rylands Library is very grateful to me, and I shall do my best to discharge worthily the task which has been committed to me. Not that I have any idea (in fact I never had) of saying the last word about the book : the more I read it, the more I become sensible of the part which a whole generation of scholars will have to play in its elucidation, and of the time that will be required to settle the problems that it provokes. In order to refresh the memories and stimulate the appetites of the Rylands students, we have attached to this notice a facsimile page, and have given the sense of it, not necessarily in a final form, but as nearly as may answer the purpose of any one who approaches the subject for the first time. If we can better it in the standard edition, we shall certainly do so.

ODE 38.

* * * * *

and the sufferings which are thought to be the terror of death : and I saw the corrupter in his corruption, and the bride who is corrupted and the bridegroom who corrupts and is corrupted, "both of them" adorned. And I asked the Truth, Who are these ? and he said to me, They are the deceiver and the deception ; and they are like to a lover and his bride ; and they lead astray and corrupt the whole world : and they invite many to the banquet, and give them to drink of the wine of their intoxication, and they vomit up their wisdom and knowledge, and so they make them without intelligence : and then they leave them ; and then these go about madly corrupting : being without heart, and not wishing to have it.

But as for me, I was made wise so as not to fall into the hands of the Deceiver ; and I congratulated myself because the Truth was accompanying me, and I was established and saved and redeemed, and my foundations were laid on the hand of the Lord, because He had established me. For He set the root and watered it and fixed it and blessed it : and its fruits will be for ever. It struck deep and sprung up and spread out, and was full and enlarged ; and the Lord alone was glorified in His planting and in His husbandry ; by His care and by the blessing of His lips, by the beautiful planting of His right hand ; and by the glory of His planting, and by the thought of His mind.

Hallelujah.

ODE 39.

Great rivers are the power of the Lord : so that they carry away headlong those who despise Him. * * * * *

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES FOR STUDENTS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

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[The following notes were hastily put together to accompany lectures on "How to Study the Old and New Testaments," but may serve the purpose of guiding the Student to the most useful literature available at the present time. It need scarcely be added that in a brief survey of this kind many excellent works have been omitted.]

I. OLD TESTAMENT.

EDITIONS of the Old Testament in Hebrew and Greek: Kittel, "Biblia Hebraica" (the most serviceable on account of critical apparatus); other texts by Baer-Delitzsch and Ginsburg. "The Sacred Books of the Old Testament in Hebrew," edited by Paul Haupt and still incomplete, is an emended text, often with liberal use of conjecture, and printed in colours to distinguish documentary sources. Swete, "The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint" (the best text for ordinary use; the larger Cambridge Septuagint edited by Brooke and McLean is in progress). Other editions by Tischendorf, and Lagarde (incomplete).

GRAMMARS, LEXICONS, CONCORDANCES: Gesenius-Kautzsch, "Hebrew Grammar" (standard work). Briefer works on "Hebrew Grammar" and "Hebrew Syntax" by A. B. Davidson (new edition of the former by McFadyen in preparation); Driver, "Hebrew Tenses" (important; an introductory work by Kennett). Hebrew Grammar in German by Stade (accidence) and König (exhaustive). Thackeray, "Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek" (in progress); (a German Grammar of the LXX by Helbing is also in progress). Conybeare and Stock's "Selections from the Septuagint" has some pages on the Grammar. Brown, Driver, and Briggs, "Hebrew Lexicon" (the standard work, indispensable; an abridged edition

is greatly needed as there is no satisfactory smaller lexicon ; a very cheap pocket lexicon by Feyerabend may be mentioned). Gesenius, "Thesaurus" (in Latin) is still a valuable storehouse. The standard Hebrew Lexicon in German is Gesenius-Buhl ; other noteworthy lexicons are by Siegfried-Stade and König. A modern lexicon to the Septuagint is still a desideratum. The most recent and comprehensive Hebrew Concordance is by Mandelkern ; but "The Englishman's Hebrew Concordance" will be found very useful. Of Concordances to the Bible in English, Young's "Analytical Concordance" and Strong's "Exhaustive Concordance" are the best. For the Septuagint, Hatch and Redpath's Concordance stands alone.

DICTIONARIES OF THE BIBLE : Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible" (in five volumes, the most generally useful dictionary ; the One Volume Dictionary by the same editor is the best work of its size) ; "Encyclopædia Biblica" (of the highest quality, often containing the best available discussion, but seriously marred by Lower Criticism of the Old Testament and Higher Criticism of the New of an extreme and speculative character) ; Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible" (the first volume has been published in a revised edition, much of it good, but unequal and without any consistency of standpoint, last two volumes largely antiquated long ago) ; Murray's "Illustrated Bible Dictionary" (conservative work in one volume). "The Standard Bible Dictionary" (fairly good but unequal work in one volume). Very important articles in "The Encyclopædia Britannica". "The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia" (based on Herzog-Hauck's "Real Encyclopädie") has many useful articles of a rather conservative tendency, but its strength lies elsewhere.

CANON AND TEXT : Ryle, "The Canon of the Old Testament" (good) ; Buhl, "Canon and Text of the Old Testament" ; Wildeboer, "The Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament" (an excellent complement to Ryle) ; Geden, "Introduction to the Hebrew Bible" (more comprehensive and popular) ; Driver, "Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel" (specially valuable introduction on palæography and textual criticism) ; Weir, "The Text of the Old Testament" ; Swete, "Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek". Important articles on text and versions in the chief Bible Dictionaries.

INTRODUCTIONS TO THE OLD TESTAMENT :

Driver, "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament" (our standard work, learned, thorough, firmly critical but never extravagant ; the sixth edition was thoroughly revised, the eighth more slightly, ninth just published with two important addenda) ; other Introductions by Cornill (an eminent German scholar) ; Bennett (in "A Biblical Introduction" by Bennett and Adeney, our best Introduction to the Bible in one volume) ; McFadyen (excellent popular work) ; Gray (compact and good, our most recent work). Briefer works by Wright, Box, Whitehouse.

Kautzsch, "An Outline of the History of the Literature of the Old Testament" (good sketch of the subject following the historical development) ; Robertson Smith, "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church" (at once popular and scientific, an excellent introduction to the subject ; second edition much enlarged and improved) ; Orr, "The Problem of the Old Testament" (probably the best answer to the "critical" theory). Cheyne, "Founders of Old Testament Criticism" (a most interesting sketch of several leading figures in the development of the subject).

INTRODUCTIONS TO THE HEXATEUCH : Kuenen, "The Hexateuch" (the first part of the author's great "Introduction" ; authoritative work by a leading exponent of the Grafian Theory) ; Wellhausen, "Prolegomena to the History of Israel" (epoch-making ; secured the triumph of the Grafian criticism over the type represented by Ewald and Dillmann) ; the author's "Die Compositions des Hexateuchs" was a very important contribution to the analysis ; Bacon, "The Genesis of Genesis" and "The Triple Tradition of the Exodus" (the latter important pioneering work) ; Addis, "The Documents of the Hexateuch" (prints them separately) ; Carpenter and Battersby, "The Hexateuch arranged in its Constituent Documents" (the best and fullest discussion) ; Carpenter and Harford, "The Composition of the Hexateuch" (enlarged and revised edition of the first volume of preceding) ; Chapman, "Introduction to the Pentateuch" (much briefer ; excellent). The leading German work is by Holzinger, more recent discussions by Gressmann and Smend.

INTRODUCTIONS TO OTHER PARTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT : Findlay, "The Books of the Prophets" (good especially for theology) ; Cheyne, "Introduction to the Book of Isaiah" (very rich collection of material) ; Kennett, "The Composition of the

Book of Isaiah" (radical); Cheyne, "Job and Solomon," "The Origin of the Psalter" (both valuable for handling of ideas as well as criticism which is advanced); W. T. Davison, "The Praises of Israel," "The Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament" (good popular works, better for theology than criticism); Gordon, "The Poets of the Old Testament" (good and recent).

HISTORY OF ISRAEL: Ewald, "History of the People of Israel" (our biggest work, very learned and stimulating, but largely antiquated); Stade, "Geschichte des Volkes Israel" (a large history, though much smaller than Ewald, written from now dominant critical standpoint); Wellhausen, "History of Israel and Judah" (reprint of article "Israel" in "Encyclopædia Britannica," a classic, but considerably expanded in his "Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte"); H. P. Smith, "Old Testament History" (very good, if sometimes unduly extreme); Kittel, "History of the Hebrews" (valuable for criticism as well as history, mediating in standpoint, second edition of the German much enlarged and improved); Kent, "History of the Hebrew People"; Kent and Riggs, "History of the Jewish People" (both good); Guthe, "Geschichte des Volkes Israel" (new edition announced). Briefer works (all good) by Cornill, Wade, Ottley, Foakes-Jackson, Bennett. G. A. Smith, "Historical Geography of the Holy Land," "Jerusalem" (both valuable and inspiring).

THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL AND OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY: The best treatment accessible in English is Kautzsch's article, "The Religion of Israel," in the Extra Volume of Hastings' "Dictionary". The fullest book on Old Testament Theology is by Schultz, it is now rather old. Davidson, "The Theology of the Old Testament" (posthumous and badly edited, incomplete, a series of studies, often rather antiquated but naturally containing much that is valuable); Wheeler Robinson, "The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament" (a compact manual admirable in every way, and on a level with the present position of the subject); Stade and Bertholet, "Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments" (recent and important); briefer works by Bennett and Burney. The treatment in the works on Old Testament Theology is largely topical, the works on the Religion of Israel trace the development of the Religion as a whole. Among these may be mentioned Kuenen, "The Religion of Israel" (the first

presentation of the history from the Graian standpoint, the author's Hibbert Lectures make up to some extent for his failure to publish a later edition); Montefiore, "Hibbert Lectures" (good, and specially interesting for its protest against the depreciation of legalism); Duff, "Old Testament Theology" (written with enthusiasm, incomplete, his "Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews" presents in brief form his conclusions on the subject in general); Addis, "Hebrew Religion" (excellent, a second volume completing the subject would be very welcome); Budde, "The Religion of Israel to the Exile" (a very instructive sketch); Cheyne, "The Religion of Israel after the Exile" (very interesting, but too drastic in both Lower and Higher Criticism); Marti, "The Religion of the Old Testament" (clear-cut sketch of the four stages: The Nomad Religion, The Peasant Religion, The Religion of the Prophets, The Legal Religion); Ottley, "The Religion of Israel"; Peake, "The Religion of Israel"; Loisy, "The Religion of Israel" (rather marred by unsympathetic and mocking tone). The chief German works in addition to those already named are by Smend, König, and Marti (the last not to be confused with the one mentioned above).

There is no work in English (apart from that by Keil) on the religious institutions, Gray's "Biblical Archæology" not being yet published. The Dictionaries of the Bible largely supply the want. The standard German works are Nowack, "Hebräische Archæologie," and Benzinger, "Hebräische Archæologie" (the second edition thoroughly revised in a Pan-Babylonian sense). Since the Religion of Israel rose out of Semitic Religion the works on the latter subject are important for the student: Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia"; "The Religion of the Semites" (epoch-making); Wellhausen, "Reste Arabischen Heidentums" (important); Curtiss, "Primitive Semitic Religion To-day"; Lagrange, "Etudes sur les Religions Sémitiques"; Barton, "A Sketch of Semitic Origins".

OTHER WORKS: Gunkel, "Schöpfung und Chaos" (very important); Gressmann, "Ursprung der israelitischjüdischen Eschatologie" (may prove to be very important); Charles, "A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life" (second edition much improved); Peake, "Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament"; Baentsch, "Altorientalischs und israelitisches Monotheismus";

Robertson Smith, "The Prophets of Israel"; Bennett, "The Post-Exilic Prophets".

COMMENTARIES : The standard series is "The International Critical Commentary". Other series are "The Cambridge Bible," "The Westminster Commentaries," "The Century Bible," "The Expositor's Bible," "The Sacred Books of the Old Testament" (the Polychrome Bible, only six volumes issued). The most important series in German are "Exegetisches Handbuch"; Nowack's "Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament"; Marti's "Handcommentar zum Alten Testament". There are numerous other commentaries and editions, which there is no space to mention. Kent's "The Student's Old Testament" is a very serviceable translation from a critically emended text, with some notes, especially on textual criticism, and introductions.

2. NEW TESTAMENT.

EDITIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN GREEK : A critical text should be employed, not the "Textus Receptus," which is the text that lies behind the Authorised Version. That by Westcott and Hort represents the dominant critical theory most consistently carried out. The Revisers' text is largely dominated by Westcott and Hort's textual theory, but is somewhat less remote from the "Textus Receptus". The best edition is by Souter; it contains a brief textual apparatus. The "Resultant Greek Testament" by Weymouth is a text formed on the basis of several modern critical editions. A more recent work is by Nestle; the text is a resultant one. A convenient edition is issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society, with an apparatus indicating variations from the "Textus Receptus" and the Revisers' text. For students the edition issued by the Würtemberg Bible Society is more useful on account of its superior apparatus. Of larger editions that by Tischendorf (the 8th larger edition) has for long been the fullest and most useful. Recently Von Soden has issued a very important text with extensive apparatus and prolegomena, expounding a new theory, which will form the subject of investigation and discussion for a long time to come. A manual edition of the text has also been published. Other editions by Tre-gelles, Baljon, and B. Weiss.

GRAMMARS, LEXICONS, CONCORDANCES : The standard grammar till recently has been that of Winer, translated and edited with many improvements and additions by W. F. Moulton. While still valuable it is to some extent antiquated and is in course of being superseded by the work of J. H. Moulton, of which so far the *Prolegomena* only has appeared. The latest German edition of Winer, by Schmiedel, is still incomplete. Blass has published an important grammar on a smaller scale; since the author's death a new and revised edition of the original has been published. The second English edition is from an earlier edition of the German. There are several elementary grammars, that by J. H. Moulton may be mentioned, and Nunn's "Syntax of New Testament Greek". The standard Lexicon is Thayer's translation of Grimm. It is now hardly on the level of present knowledge, and will no doubt be superseded in course of time. Deissmann's "Bible Studies" opened a new epoch by showing that the Greek of the New Testament is the common colloquial language of the time. Preuschen's Lexicon (Greek-German) is disappointing. Cremer's "Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch" is accessible in English from an early edition of the original. The best Concordance to the Greek Testament is that by Moulton and Geden, the earlier work by Bruder was based on the "Textus Receptus," but takes account of the critical texts. Those who know no Greek will find "The Englishman's Greek Concordance" of service. Young's "Analytical Concordance" and Strong's "Exhaustive Concordance" are the best for students of the English Bible.

DICTIONARIES OF THE BIBLE : For these see "Bibliographical Notes for Students of the Old Testament".

CANON AND TEXT : Gregory's "Canon and Text of the New Testament" is the most comprehensive work embracing both subjects, but disappointing and too popular for a standard work; Souter's "The Text and Canon of the New Testament" is much briefer, and in parts too learned for the ordinary reader. Westcott's "The Canon of the New Testament" is solid and learned, but needs supplementing; for this purpose the section on the Canon in Jülicher's "Introduction" may be recommended. The most comprehensive work is Zahn's "Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons". A brief sketch of his conclusions is given in his "Grundriss". With these should be mentioned his "Forschungen," in several volumes

written mainly by himself but including contributions by other scholars. A briefer history than Zahn's is Leipoldt's "Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons". For Textual Criticism, apart from the books by Gregory and Souter already mentioned, there is Scrivener's "A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament". The most serviceable work for the student is Kenyon's "Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament" (2nd edition), which may, however be supplemented by Lake's "The Text of the New Testament". There are several short manuals, those by Hammond, Warfield, and Vincent may be mentioned. It would be advisable for the student to work through one of these manuals (Kenyon's by preference) before taking up the Introduction to Westcott and Hort's "New Testament in Greek," which is a classic. Nestle's "Introduction to the Criticism of the Greek New Testament" is a very learned work written from a somewhat different standpoint than that of Westcott and Hort (English translation from 2nd edition). The 3rd thoroughly revised German edition was published in 1909). There are important articles in the Dictionaries ; Burkitt's "Text and Versions" in the "Encyclopædia Biblica" and Turner's "Text of the New Testament" in "Murray's Illustrated Bible Dictionary" may be specially mentioned, and the articles by the latter in "The Journal of Theological Studies," vols. x. and xi.

TRANSLATIONS INTO MODERN ENGLISH : Moffatt's "The New Testament : A New Translation" may be specially recommended. His "Historical New Testament" arranges the books in what he regards as the order of composition, gives a translation of them (not identical with that in the preceding work), and much critical discussion. Other good translations are, "The Twentieth Century New Testament" and Weymouth's "The New Testament in Modern English". Revisions of the Authorised Version may be found in "The Corrected English New Testament" and "The 1911 Tercentenary Commemoration Bible". A new Roman Catholic translation, based on the original, not on the Vulgate, has begun to appear under the title "The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures". Weizsäcker's translation into German and Lasserre's spirited rendering of the Gospels into French ("Les Saintes Évangiles") may also be mentioned.

NEW TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION : For much fuller lists than can be given here the writer may refer to the Bibliography appended to his "Critical Introduction to the New Testament". Very elaborate lists may be found in Moffatt's "Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament," which is our standard work on the subject. Among translations from German the works of B. Weiss, Zahn, and Jülicher are the most important. The leading work on the "advanced" side is by Holtzmann (untranslated and now old). Salmon's Introduction is somewhat antiquated, but not out of date. It is learned, lucid, lively, and one-sided, the work of a clever advocate. Of smaller works those by Adeney, Bacon, and Allen and Grensted call for mention. In addition to books which cover the whole of the New Testament there are many on special parts of the subject. Here only a selection of the more recent can be given. On the Gospels : Stanton's "The Gospels as Historical Documents" promises to be when completed our best and most comprehensive discussion. Burkitt's "The Gospel History and Its Transmission" is very fresh and suggestive. There are smaller works by Pullan, J. A. Robinson, and Holdsworth. In German Baur's "Die Evangelien" deserves to be mentioned, and not for its historical importance alone ; and Weizsäcker's "Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte," though just half a century old, is by no means antiquated. E. A. Abbott's series entitled "Diatessarica" now numbers several volumes. For the criticism of the Synoptic Gospels in addition to the works by Stanton, Burkitt, Abbott, and Robinson already mentioned, "Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem," Hawkins' "Horae Synopticae," Buckley's "Introduction to the Synoptic Problem," and Burkitt's "The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus" may be named ; and in German Wernle's "Die synoptische Frage," Wellhausen's "Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien," and an important series of elaborate discussions by B. Weiss ("Das Marcusevangelium und seine synoptischen Parallelen," "Das Matthäusevangelium und seine Lucasparallelen," "Die Quellen des Lukas-Evangeliums," "Die Quellen des synoptischen Überlieferung"). The first four of Harnack's "Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament" are concerned mainly with the Lucan writing, but the second, "Sprüche und Reden Jesu" (Eng. tr. "The Sayings of Jesus") is a very noteworthy discussion of the non-Marcan source of Matthew and Luke, commonly known as Q.

Special aspects of the problem are examined in various works such as "Das älteste Evangelium," by J. Weiss. Books on the Life (e.g. Keim or B. Weiss) or Teaching (e.g. Wendt) of Jesus often contain critical discussions of the Gospels. The work of comparing the Gospels is much facilitated by a synopsis giving the parallel sections in parallel columns. Rushbrooke's "Synopticon" surpasses all in its typographical devices ; Huck's "Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien" is the handiest for ordinary use ; both of these are in Greek ; there are others by Tischendorf, Wright, and Campbell. For English students "The Synoptic Gospels," by J. M. Thompson, may be recommended.

On the Fourth Gospel the literature tends to fall into two divisions, those books which affirm and those which deny the apostolic authorship. Of the earlier books Sanday's "Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel" and Lightfoot's "Biblical Essays" may be specially mentioned, also Ezra Abbot's paper on "The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel : External Evidence". A comprehensive account of the debate in modern times is given in Watkins' "Modern Criticism and the Fourth Gospel" ; a much briefer work dealing with the recent discussions is Jackson's "The Fourth Gospel". But the most important survey is contained in Sanday's "The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel". The most notable contributions on a large scale published recently in English are Drummond's "The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel" (conservative) and Bacon's "The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate" (advanced). A briefer work by Schmiedel "The Johannine Writings" (radical). There are large volumes by Overbeck (posthumous) and Clemen in German. The most striking change in the situation recently has been the growing tendency to regard the Gospel as constructed out of earlier sources. Wendt has for long denied its unity ; his views may be seen in "The Gospel According to St. John : An Inquiry into Its Genesis and Historical Value". More recent theories are specially connected with the names of Wellhausen, Schwartz, and Spitta. On the other side, B. Weiss "Das Johannesevangelium als einheitliches Werk".

On the Acts of the Apostles it may suffice to mention Ramsay's "St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen," "Pauline and Other Studies," and "Luke the Physician" ; Chase "The Histori-

cal Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles"; Harnack, "Luke the Physician," "The Acts of the Apostles," "The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels"; Norden's "Agnostos Theos" with Harnack's reply, "Ist die Rede des Paulus in Athen ein ursprünglicher Bestandteil der Apostelgeschichte"?

On the Pauline Epistles: Godet, "Introduction to the New Testament: the Pauline Epistles," Knowling, "The Witness of the Epistles" and "The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ"; Shaw, "The Pauline Epistles," may be mentioned among the larger books, Findlay, "The Epistles of Paul the Apostle" among the smaller. R. Scott's "The Pauline Epistles" is much too viewy to be a safe guide. The most striking contribution of late is Lake's "The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul," and that not simply for the critical problems. It will presumably be followed by a volume dealing with the later epistles. There is, of course, a large literature on individual epistles or groups of epistles, but it must be passed over here, and similarly the special literature on the other epistles.

On the Revelation of John: Vischer, "Die Offenbarung Johannis"; Spitta, "Die Offenbarung des Johannes untersucht"; J. Weiss, "Die Offenbarung des Johannes"; Wellhausen, "Analyse der Offenbarung Johannis"—all advocate the composite authorship of the work. Gunkel's "Schöpfung und Chaos" introduced a new era in the interpretation of the book. See further Porter, "The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers"; Ramsay, "The Letters to the Seven Churches"; Charles, "Studies in the Apocalypse".

It must, of course, be remembered that some of the most important critical discussions are to be found in commentaries, in articles both in dictionaries and periodicals, in volumes of essays, and other comprehensive works. But it would demand a great deal of space to deal even superficially with a literature so vast.

HISTORY: For the contemporary history of the New Testament the foremost authority is Schürer's "The Jewish People in the Time of Christ". Another large work is Hausrath's "History of the New Testament Times". Of smaller works Muirhead's "The Times of Christ" may be commended.

For the Life of Christ there are well-known popular works by Farrar, Geikie, and D. Smith. Edersheim's "The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah" is valuable for its illustration of the

Gospels from Jewish sources. Fairbairn's "Studies in the Life of Christ" is fresh and stimulating, with important apologetic discussions. Three students' books may be recommended, Sanday's "Outlines of the Life of Christ," "Kent's The Life and Teaching of Jesus," and Rhee's "The Life of Jesus of Nazareth". Of the larger German works (translated into English) may be mentioned Keim's "Jesus of Nazara" (best of the rationalistic Lives, but rests on incorrect solution of Synoptic Problem); Weiss's "Life of Christ" (on a sounder critical basis than Keim, learned and thorough rather than brilliant); Oscar Holtzmann "The Life of Jesus" (too commonplace). Bousset's "Jesus" is a sympathetic and admirably written sketch from advanced standpoint.

For the history of the Apostolic Age the following may be mentioned: Weizsäcker, "The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church," a brilliant work by a master, radical in criticism and much too negative in its treatment of Acts, but remarkable for its power of combination; McGiffert, "History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age," able, sounder than Weizsäcker but less brilliant; Bartlet, "The Apostolic Age," conservative, but independent and original; Ropes, "The Apostolic Age" (good). A brief sketch by Von Dobschütz, "The Apostolic Age," may be added. Other works covering a larger field but including the Apostolic Age are Pfleiderer's "Primitive Christianity," learned and illuminating though often extreme; Wernle's "The Beginnings of Christianity," too slashing but written with glow and enthusiasm; J. Weiss, "Das Urchristentum," fresh, thorough, and suggestive; H. Achelis, "Das Christentum in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten". All of these works deal of course with Paul. Among the earlier Lives of Paul those by Conybeare and Howson, Lewin and Farrar may be mentioned; of more recent works Ramsay's "St. Paul the Traveller"; Bacon's "Story of St. Paul"; Clemen's "Paulus"; Weinel's "St. Paul".

COMMENTARIES: It is impracticable to give any detailed information on so large a field. A pretty full list is given in the writer's "Critical Introduction to the New Testament". Speaking generally British commentaries are better for the Old Testament than for the New, though there are of course several excellent examples of the latter. The chief series are "The International Critical Commentary"; "The Expositor's Greek Testament"; "The Cambridge Greek Testa-

ment"; "The Cambridge Bible"; "The Century Bible"; "The Westminster Commentaries"; "The Westminster New Testament". Older commentaries are "The Speaker's," "The Pulpit," and Alford. The chief German work of this class which has been translated is that by H. A. W. Meyer. Of commentaries in German the most recent edition of Meyer should perhaps be accorded the first place, though other series, such as "Hand-commentar zum N.T." (advanced) and Zahn's "Kommentar zum N.T." (conservative), stand worthily by its side. The later editions of Meyer are entirely new works by fresh writers. A popular work, "Die Schriften des N.T." is edited by J. Weiss, and a commentary with special attention to philology and contemporary thought, "Handbuch zum N.T.", by Lietzmann. Apart from these series there are of course numerous commentaries of which the following may be enumerated: Plummer's Matthew, Swete's Mark and The Apocalypse; Menzies' "The Earliest Gospel" and 2 Corinthians; Bacon, "The Beginnings of Gospel Story"; Montefiore, "The Synoptic Gospels"; Loisy, "Les Évangiles Synoptiques" and "Le Quatrième Évangile"; Wellhausen, on Mark, Matthew and Luke; Westcott, John, Hebrews, and Johannine Epistles; Lightfoot, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, "Notes on Epistles of St. Paul"; J. A. Robinson, Ephesians; G. Milligan, Thessalonians; Hort, James, 1 Peter, Rev. i-iii.

THEOLOGY: The following works deal with the whole field of New Testament Theology: Reuss, "History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age" (English translation edited and annotated, often polemically, by Dale); B. Weiss, "Biblical Theology of the New Testament" (very complete and careful collection of materials, less happy in construction, and prosaic in quality); Beyschlag, "New Testament Theology" (perhaps the best accessible in English, but eccentric in its exposition of New Testament Christology); Stevens, "Theology of the New Testament" (solid, competent, and trustworthy rather than brilliant); Sheldon, "New Testament Theology" (a useful compendium); Adeney, "Theology of the New Testament" (an excellent small manual). Wernle's "The Beginnings of Christianity" largely covers the ground. There are several important untranslated works, of which Holtzmann's "Neutestamentliche Theologie" holds the foremost place; there are other treatises by Feine, Schlatter, and Weinel.

On the teaching of Jesus there are several works. The Synoptic and Johannine presentations are commonly kept distinct, and the distribution of the teaching in the Fourth Gospel between Jesus and the evangelist varies according to the view taken of the critical and historical problems. Wendt, "The Teaching of Jesus," deals with both the Synoptic and the Johannine accounts. He regards them as harmonious, and the latter as in large measure a faithful representation. On the Synoptic Teaching Bruce published several very sympathetic books : "The Kingdom of God," "The Training of the Twelve," "The Parabolic Teaching of Christ," and "The Galilean Gospel". Denney's "Jesus and the Gospel" is designed to show that the Church is justified in its valuation of Jesus by His own teaching as recorded in the two main Synoptic sources. Other works are : Von Schrenck, "Jesus and His Teaching"; Grist, "The Historic Christ in the Faith of To-day"; Garvie, "Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus". Moffatt's "The Theology of the Gospels" is not strictly an exposition of the teaching of Jesus, but naturally contains much on that subject. Recently a considerable literature has grown up around the question of the eschatological teaching of Jesus. The development of the subject may be studied in Schweitzer's "Von Reimarus zu Wrede" (translated under the title "The Quest of the Historical Jesus"), a brilliantly written, but avowedly one-sided book, designed to show that we are driven either to a thorough-going eschatological interpretation or to a scepticism like that in Wrede's "Das Messiasgeheimniss in den Evangelien"; Sanday's "The Life of Christ in Recent Research" should be consulted on this and other problems indicated by the title. Of the literature from 1892 onwards the following may be selected : J. Weiss, "Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes" (regarded by Schweitzer as epoch-making, but only in its first edition; the second, which appeared ten years later in a much larger form, modifying the extreme one-sidedness which aroused Schweitzer's enthusiasm); Schweitzer, "Das Messianitäts- und Leidensgeheimniss" and "The Quest of the Historical Jesus"; Holtzmann's "Das Messianische Bewusstsein Jesu"; Loisy, "L'Évangile et l'Église"; Tyrrell, "Christianity at the Cross-Roads"; Muirhead, "The Eschatology of Jesus"; Von Dobschütz, "The Eschatology of the Gospels" (to be commended); E. F. Scott, "The Kingdom and the Messiah" (a balanced statement of

the eschatological view); Emmett, "The Eschatological Question in the Gospels" (useful statement and criticism); Dewick, "Primitive Christian Eschatology"; Worsley, "The Apocalypse of Jesus"; Jackson, "The Eschatology of Jesus". Shailer Mathews, "The Messianic Hope in the New Testament," and Sharman, "The Teaching of Jesus About the Future" are concerned with the theme in a more detached way.

The Histories of the Apostolic Age usually contain some account of the theology of the New Testament writers. There are also numerous works on different types of theology. On the Pauline theology the following may be selected from an extensive literature: Pfleiderer, "Paulinism" (stimulating and incisive; Eng. trans. from first edition, the author's views altered, and not for the better, in the second edition and in later works, including his "Primitive Christianity"); Stevens, "The Pauline Theology" (largely from standpoint of B. Weiss); Bruce, "St. Paul's Conception of Christianity" (more satisfactory than Stevens, but tends to regard as apologetic buttresses of the system some things that belong to its foundations); Wrede, "Paul" (stimulating and provocative, his view that Paul radically transformed the religion of Jesus led to considerable discussion in Germany); Weinel, "St. Paul"; Garvie, "Studies of Paul and his Gospel"; Somerville, "St. Paul's Conception of Christ"; H. A. A. Kennedy, "St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things". Schweitzer has in his "Paul and his Recent Interpreters" sought to show that the attempts to interpret Paul as other than an out-and-out eschatologist have broken down. Great stress has recently been laid on Paul's relation to Greek mystery religions, notably by Reitzenstein, "Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen"; see also P. Gardner, "The Religious Experience of St. Paul"; Lake, "The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul," and Montefiore, "Judaism and St. Paul". A very full and careful examination is given by H. A. A. Kennedy in "St. Paul and the Mystery Religions".

On the Johannine Theology: Stevens, "The Johannine Theology"; E. F. Scott, "The Fourth Gospel". On the Epistle to the Hebrews: Bruce, "The Epistle to the Hebrews"; G. Milligan, "The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews".

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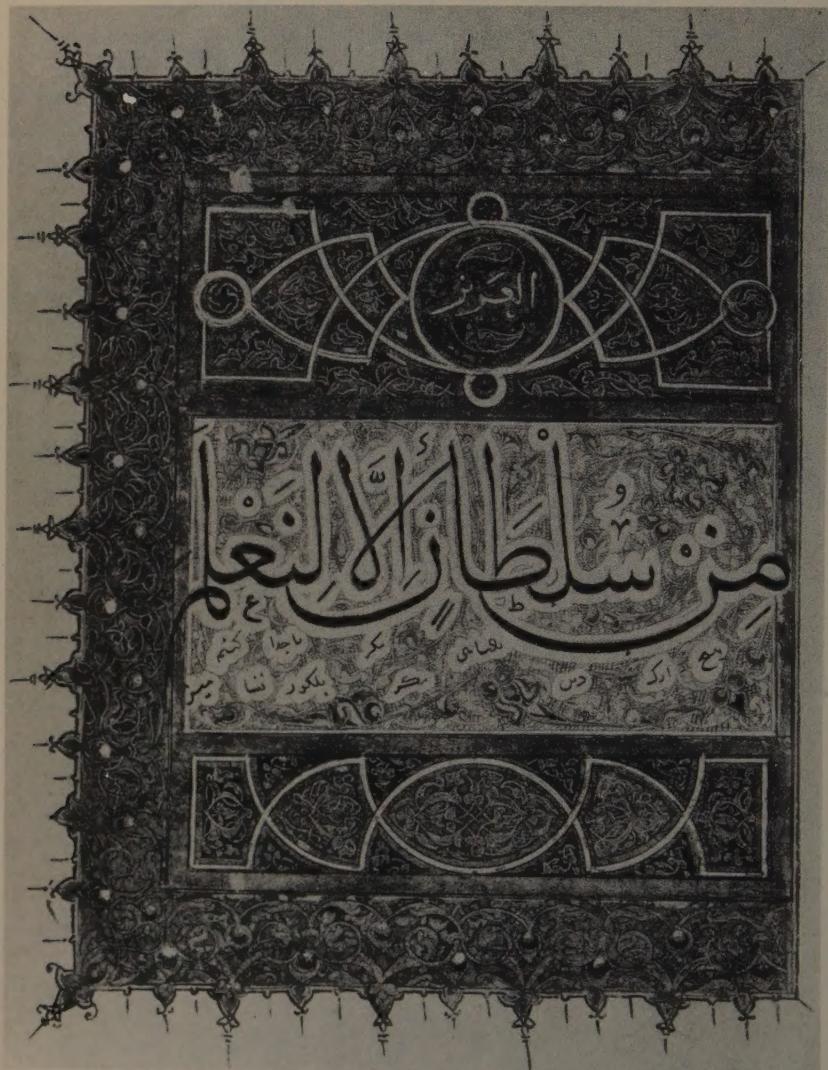
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